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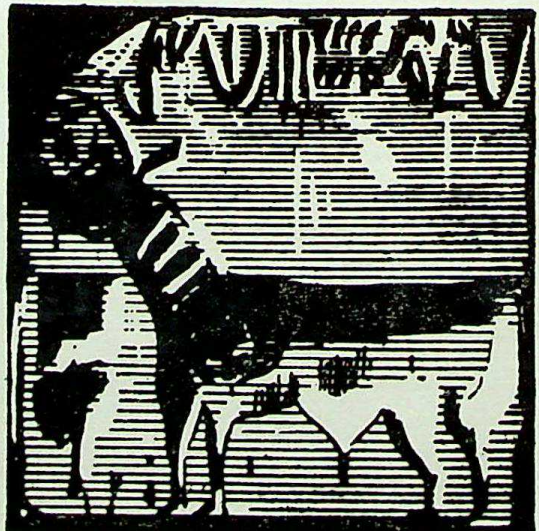

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THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Edited by
N. N. Law

VOLUME.
XXIII,

Ramanand Vidya Bhawan

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Ramanand Vidya Bhawan
J-3/227, D. D. A. Flats
Kalkaji
New Delhi-110019

1985

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The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XXIII **March, 1947** **No. I**

The Philosophy of Gauḍapāda

(In Mahāyāna Technology)

The position of Gauḍapāda in the history of Hindu Philosophy is unique. So far as the extant literature goes, he was the first to make an effort to explain the *śruti* from the standpoint of absolute monism which means, in short, that there is an eternal principle of absolute homogeneity which is truly existent while the world of multiplicity is truly non-existent. This standpoint he has set forth in a metrical treatise of four chapters, called *prakaraṇas,* subjoined to the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad,* the smallest of the ten principal *Upaniṣads.* It was undoubtedly this treatise which gave Śaṅkara the inspiration to explain all the ten *Upaniṣads* in the same light, for he was not able to quote any other exposition of the *śruti* in support of his view and himself wrote a commentary on it. Indeed, Śaṅkara was a disciple of Govindapāda who was in the line of disciples of Gauḍapāda.

Absolute monism one may deduce from the *śruti* when one has got an idea of it from somewhere else, but the *śruti* nowhere states it in its fullness. The truth of the universal principle called Brahma is no doubt the theme of the ten *Upaniṣads,* but they nowhere posit that the world which evolves in it is false in the sense of being non-existent. To say, as Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara have said, that true monism cannot rationally stand unless the world is considered really non-existent and so the *śruti* teaches absolute monism, is to beg the question, for here you first depend on a particular form of reasoning to get the idea of absolute monism and then impose it on the *śruti.* All previous commentaries on the *śruti* have been lost except the *Brahmasūtra.* Our present knowledge about them is limited to Śaṅkara's stray references to them. The

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ancient commentary, called the *Vṛtti*, on the *Brahmasūtra* is also lost and here also we have to depend on Śaṅkara's references to it for knowing its purport. None of these commentaries maintained that the *śruti* or the *Brahmasūtra* taught absolute monism. And since the advent of Śaṅkara great Hindu teachers have firmly declared that absolute monism, however logical it might be, is not warranted by the *śruti*. The *śruti* nowhere states that the world is non-existent, unborn, like a flower in the sky or a city of the Gandharvas, a dream a māyā. But this is the proposition which Gauḍapāda seeks to establish in every one of the *prakaraṇas* or chapters of his book. In the 17th *kārikā* or verse of the 1st *prakaraṇa*, the only chapter which deals directly with the contents of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, he says, "This dual world is nothing but a *māyā*." In the 31st verse of the 2nd *prakaraṇa*, in which the unreality of the world is sought to be established on a consideration of the dreaming state, he says, "As a dream and a *māyā* are seen, as a city of the Gandharvas is seen, so is the world seen by those who are proficient in the Vedāntas." At the outset (verse 2) of the 3rd *prakaraṇa* he clearly states his proposition, "I shall establish unlimited, universal *ajāti* (non-birth), how the things which are seen to be born on all sides are not born." In verse 23 of the same *prakaraṇa* he says that he will depend on reasoning in proving this proposition. The *śruti* speaks of creation equally from the born and from the unborn. What is undoubtedly in accordance with reasoning, that is the fact and nothing else. This 3rd *prakaraṇa* he devotes mainly to the consideration of a number of passages from the Upaniṣads, seeking therefrom to establish that the *śruti* teaches an ultimate monistic principle and non-birth of the world. These three chapters together comprise 115 verses.

Alātaśāntiprakaraṇa

The elaborate reasoning by which the proposition of non-birth is to be proved is reserved for the 4th *prakaraṇa*, a chapter containing 100 verses, that is, almost as big as the three previous chapters taken together. In it are included some of the verses on dream of the 2nd *prakaraṇa* and, with slight variations, some verses of the 1st and 3rd *prakaraṇas*. It is called *Alātaśāntiprakaraṇa*, that is the chapter on the quietude of the fire-brand, the meaning of which will come out in the

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course of the exposition of the contents of the chapter. The chapter enunciates the principle of absolute monism in five verses and the rest of it is devoted to the proof of the proposition thus enunciated.

The most important question for consideration here is, whence did Gauḍapāda get the idea of the non-birth of the world if he did not get it from the *śruti*? In verse 31 of the 2nd chapter, which has been quoted before, he himself says that this idea was held by wise men proficient in the Vedāntas, and so he was not its originator. Now, who were these wise men if they were not the orthodox commentators of the Vedāntas and the Brahmasūtra? It may sound strange at present to announce that these wise men were the Buddha and his followers, for since the disappearance of Buddhism and Buddhist literature from India we have been persistently taught by all the writers on Hindu Philosophy, great and small, that the Buddha was a great renegade who had absolutely no faith in the teaching of the *śruti* and considered the world to be merely a flux of mentation with no abiding principle underlying it, and that his followers gradually ended by proclaiming a theory of absolute nihilism which gave denial not only to an ultimate reality but also to the perception of the world. And this culminating madness the Hindu writers ascribed to the great *Nāgārjuna*, who is said to be the founder of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism, and preached the doctrine of *Śūnyatā* or Emptiness which he had learnt from the *Mahāyāna* scriptures. But the days were different when Gauḍapāda lived probably in the 3rd or 4th century A.D. within about two centuries from the time of Nāgārjuna. He accepted the Brahmavāda of Yājñavalkya and other *śrauta ṛṣis*, supplemented it with the *Ajātivāda* of Buddha and his followers and finished with full fledged absolute *Advaitavāda* as is laid down in the Mahāyāna scriptures. He took for his text the shortest *Upaniṣad* in which the ultimate Brahma-principle is clearly set forth without any admixture of talks about creation, proceeded in the first three chapters to elucidate the Brahma-principle from the standpoint of *Ajātivāda* quoting the *śruti* and Nāgārjuna in the same breath and finished in the last chapter with a systematic summary of the Mahāyānasūtra. In this summary we find all the details of the theory and exposition of absolute monism contained in the voluminous Sūtra presented within a short compass, remarkably well-arranged and retaining all the technicalities of the Sūtra in expression and diction.

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Noble indeed was the effort of Gauḍapāda and other Vedantists to bridge the gulf between the *Āryajñāna* of orthodox Brahmins and the *Āryajñāna* of the Buddhist reformers, and so successful was it that even when the name of the Buddha was an anathema, Śaṅkara, while he was leading the attack against Buddhism with his giant intellect and unflinching energy, was unwittingly preaching the Mahāyāna and preserving and elucidating its essence in his immortal commentaries. And for all this we are indebted solely to Gauḍapāda, for Śaṅkara, though he never dreamt that absolute monism was Mahāyāna Buddhism, preached it on his authority. Now that we have the Buddhist texts discovered in foreign lands, it seems strange to us that, coming only about three hundred years after Gauḍapāda, Śaṅkara was not struck by the peculiarly un-*śrauta* character of his terminology. The result was that the terms of the Mahāyāna used by Gauḍapāda were misinterpreted. Gauḍapāda himself was presented as an anti-Buddhist and his references to the Buddha were considered as references to anti-Buddhist wise men (the word *buddha* literally means the wise man). It was only in the last but one verse that the term Buddha could by no means be interpreted as a mere wise man, but here also by the displacement of a *na*, Śaṅkara denied to the Buddha the excellent teaching which was his and his only. But inspite of all these vital defects in Śaṅkara's understanding of Gauḍapāda, he caught from him the principle of absolute monism, stuck to it and brought to bear such a fund of erudition and reasoning on it as has ever been the wonder of learned men.

We shall present the reader with a skeleton of Mahāyāna technology to enable him to see how closely Gauḍapāda has followed it.

1. *Saṃvṛti* and *Paramārtha*

Existence, reality (*sattā*) or truth (*satya*), which terms are almost synonymous from the philosophical standpoint, is two-fold, namely, *saṃvṛti* and *paramārtha*. *Saṃvṛti* means convention or usage, and *paramārtha* means highest reality or ultimate reality. The truth of convention underlies the world which is really unreal, while the truth of ultimate reality is the ever-abiding truth or reality. [Verses 57, 73 and 74 of *Alātaśāntiprakaraṇa* (henceforth abbreviated as *Asp.*) deal with *saṃvṛti* and *paramārtha*].

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2. *Parikalpita, Paratantra* and *Pariniṣpanna svabhāvas*

Existence is further subdivided, according to *svabhāva* or nature, into parikalpita (imaginary), paratantra (mutually dependent or relative) and pariniṣpanna (absolute). These are also the three *svabhāvas* according to the *Laṅkāvatāra*. The *Parikalpita svabhāva* is the imaginary nature of illusions like a mirage and a flower in the sky. The *Paratantra svabhāva* is the relative or mutually dependent nature of the practical world where all things are mutually dependent, nothing exists independently of all other things. The *Pariniṣpanna svabhāva* is the absolute nature of the ultimate reality which is neither *parikalpita* nor *paratantra*. *Parikalpita,* or, merely *kalpita,* and *paratantra* are subdivisions of *saṃvṛti* while *pariniṣpanna* is the same as *paramārtha* which term is retained by Gauḍapāda in his delineation of the three *svabhāvas*. [Verse 24 of *Asp*. speaks of *paratantra* existence whlie verses 73 and 74 speak of all the three forms of existence].

3. *Five Dharmas*

Existence, subdivided into three *svabhāvas,* is sub-divided into five *dharmas* or characteristic types. They are—*nimitta* (form), *nāma* (name), *vikalpa* (discrimination), *samyag-jñāna* (right knowledge) and *tathatā* (suchness)

Nimitta (form)—The word means cause and here signifies the world which binds a being to *saṃsāra* through attachment to it. *Rūpa* is another word for *nimitta* which is translated into form or appearance meaning "that which reveals itself to the visual sense and is perceived as form, and, in like manner, that which appearing to the sense of smelling, tasting, the body or the *Manovijñāna* is perceived as sound, odour, taste, tactibility or idea. (*L. Sūtra.,* lxxxiii). It is an inner or outer object perceived by the mind alone or through any of the external senses. Or, better, it is a sensual or mental image which is called an object.

Nāma (name)—A name is not merely the sound that is heard when it is uttered. As the sound it is a *nimitta* a form, an appearance, an object of hearing. But the real significance of a name lies in its intimate connection with the object which it denotes as well as connotes. In merely denoting it points to an object and in connoting it refers to the class and individual marks of the object which combine to pick it out

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from other objects. A name is thus descriptive, serving to draw the attention of the person to whom it is spoken to the object which it describes. If a dog is called Caesar, the term is not merely a sound-form but is also descriptive of the significant general characteristics of the particular dog-object; otherwise, it would not refer to a dog and the particular dog. As a *nimitta* is a sensual or mental image, so a *nāma* is a description in particular reference to it. Thus a *nimitta* and its *nāma* are inseparably bound together.

Vikalpa (discrimination)—"By 'discrimination' is meant that by which names are declared, and there is thus the indicating of (various) appearances. Saying that this is such and no other, for instance, saying that this is an elephant, a horse, a woman or a man, each idea thus discriminated is so determined" (*L. Sūtra,* lxxxiii). Discrimination is that faculty of the mind which recognises or imagines distinguishing characteristic marks in objects and thus assigns names to them. It is what makes a being live in a world of *nimitta* and *nāma*. The basic distinction underlying a person's worldly existence is that between himself the cogniser and his cognised world, the subject and the object, and on it depend all other distinctions, namely, those existing between the cognised objects. Hence discrimination is mainly concerned with the distinction between the subject and the object.

These three *dharmas,* namely, *nimita, nāma* and *vikalpa,* constitute the *parikalpita* and *paratantra svabhāvas* of existence, the unreal reality, the *saṃvṛti.*

Samyag-jñāna (right knowledge)—"By 'right knowledge' is meant this: when names and appearances are seen as unattainable owing to their mutual conditioning, there is no more rising of the *vijñānas,* for nothing comes to annihilation, nothing abides everlastingly; and when there is no more falling back into the stage of the philosophers, Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-buddhas, it is said that there is right knowledge." (*L. Sūtra,* lxxxiii). Right knowledge is where there is no thought of the reality of the phenomenal world of name and form, and no discrimination of subject and object. It is knowledge in perfection, pure, eternal and universal. It is unattainable but is revealed when the *manovijñāna* is destroyed by a thorough understanding of the unreality of the world. When it is revealed, the true existence, which is *Tathatā,* is revealed, for it is one with it. *Samyag-jñāna* which is knowledge itself is also *samyaksattva,*

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that is, Existence itself to which *Tathatā* (suchness) and other names are given according to different characters attributed to it.

Tathatā (suchness)—"When erroneous views based on the dualistic notion of assertion and negation are got rid of, and when the *vijñānas* cease to rise as regards the objective world of names and appearances, this I call 'Suchness.' Mahāmati, a Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva who is established on Suchness attains the state of imagelessness." (*L. Sūtra*, lxxxiii). Tathatā or Suchness is the unchanging, eternal, infinite, homogeneous monistic principle which alone exists and nothing else. As such it is undefinable and is hence called Suchness, that is, Such-as-it-is. Every definition must perforce contain a statement of the characteristics of the object defined. But the Ultimate is characterless and so cannot be defined. Our language is, moreover, limited to the limitations of our sense-perception and so always dualistic, and cannot, therefore, exactly define the unlimited. Even such terms as eternal, infinite, homogeneous, monistic and unborn do not correctly define the Reality, for they are all terms of dualism, dichotomous, eternality refers to non-eternality, infinity refers to finiteness and so forth; but the Reality has nothing to do with the dualism of eternality-non eternality and so forth. Nevertheless, we have to express it in language and this we do by attributing to it characters contrary to the characters of worldly objects. We conceive and characterise it in a negative way. It is eternal because worldly objects are non eternal. It is suchness, that is, such-as-it-is, because it is undefinable while worldly objects are definable. It is *Brahma*, that is, universal, or *Dharmadhātu*, that is, the universal basic principle in all *dharmas*, because worldly objects are isolated. It is Light, Consciousness, Knowledge, because the world is dark, unconscious, ignorant. It is fearlessness, because the world is frightful. It is Bliss, because the world is sorrowful. It is homogeneous (*sama*), because the world is heterogeneous. It is *nirvāṇa*, because the world is *saṃsāra*. It is the container of all merits because the world is so deficient in them. Again, there is the idea that because it alone exists while the world does not, the world which is perceived as existing is in it or of it. Hence it is called *Bhūtatathatā* (Existent-such as it-is, absolute Existence), *Ālaya-vijñāna* (the home of the *vijñānas*, or repository-consciousness), *Tathāgatagarbha* (the womb of *Tathāgata*), *Dharmadhātu* (the material of the *dharmas*), and *Dharmakāya* (the body of the *dharmas*). It is *Citta-mātra*, or,

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Mind itself, because while it has no mentation it is the basic principle of the worldly mind which mentates (verse 27). It is *Vijñāna-mātra*, or Consciousness itself, because while it is not conscious of any object, it is the source of the worldly consciousness of objects (verses 45-47). Says Aśvaghoṣa, "If the mind being awakened perceives an external world, then there will be something that cannot be perceived by it. But the essence of the mind has nothing to do with perception (which presupposes the dual existence of a perceiving subject and an object perceived); so there is nothing that cannot be perceived by it (that is the world of relativity is submerged in the oneness of suchness). Thence we assign to Suchness this quality, the universal illumination of the universe (it is the *Dharmadhātu*)." (*Awakening of Faith*, p. 97). The *Dharmadhātu*, that is, the *dharmas* as *Tathatā*, and the world, that is, the *Dharmas* as *nimitta*, *nāma* and *vikalpa*, being thus in one sense contradictory and in another sense the same, the qualities which we attribute to the *Dharmadhātu* with our eye to it on the one hand and the world on the other, must of necessity be incomprehensible, heterogeneous from the worldly standpoint and homogeneous from the transcendental standpoint. Hence Aśvaghoṣa says, "There is no heterogeneity in all these *Buddha-dharmas* (qualities of the Buddha) which, outnumbering the sands of the Ganges, can be neither identical (*ekārtha*) nor non-identical (*nānārtha*), and which, therefore, are out of the range of our comprehension" (*Awakening of Faith*, p. 96). But if we can turn our eye from the world with a deep conviction that it is not, our vision will land on the transcendent Such-as-it-is which is neither ignorance nor knowledge, neither *saṃsāra* (birth-and-death) nor *nirvāṇa* (emancipation), neither the *dharmas* nor the *Dharmadhātu*. Hence the Buddha said, "The discriminated by discrimination exist not, and discrimination does not obtain; discrimination being thus unobtainable, there is neither transmigration nor *nirvāṇa*" (*L. Sūtra*, Sagāthakam 621). And, again, "In all things there is no self-nature, they are mere words of people; that which is discriminated has no reality. *Nirvāṇa* is like a dream, nothing is seen to be in transmigration, nor does anything enter into *nirvāṇa*. (*L. Sūtra*, xxxiv). With an eye to the world we must say, "Suchness, emptiness, (reality-) limit, *nirvāṇa*, the *Dharmadhātu*, no-birth of all things, self-being—these characterise the highest truth" (Sagāthakam 576). Taking out our eye from the world we have to say, "In the state of imagelessness there is no reality, no

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parikalpita, no *paratantra*, no five *dharmas* no two-fold mind" (Sagāthakam 560). Nāgārjuna formulated his eight "No's" for defining the Ultimate Reality in these words:—

अनिरोधमनुत्पादमनुच्छेदमशाश्वतमनेकार्थमनानार्थमनागममनिर्गमन् ।
यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादं प्रपञ्चोपोशमं शिवं देशयामास सम्बुद्धस्तं वन्दे वदतां वरम् ॥
(माध्यमिक-कारिका).

I adore the greatest of speakers, the fully-enlightened one, who taught the Reality in which there is no destruction, no origination, no annihilation, no eternality, no one-thingness, no many-thingness, no coming in, no going out, mutual origination, quiescence of the multiple world. In the same spirit Gaudapāda formulates his six "No's" for the same purpose:

न निरोधो न चोत्पत्तिर्न बद्धो न च साधकः ।
न मुमुक्षुर्न वै मुक्त इत्येषा परमार्थता ॥ (वैतथ्यप्रकरण ३२)

No destruction, no origination, nobody in bondage, no devotee, nobody desirous of emancipation, nobody emancipated, this is the essence of *paramārtha* (ultimate reality).

Tathatā, or, Suchness, is undefinable. But, for that reason, we are not to think that it is not, it is Such-as-it-is. The sense of the verb "to be" is inherent in everybody, it is the springhead of every one of our activities, physical or mental. I can never reasonably say that I am not, for that very 'saying' proves that I am. In fact nobody feels his non-existence. But every thoughtful man feels that the form which his existence takes varies and in our worldly life we are concerned with only forms of existence which are impermanent and therefore unreal. Existence itself must, for this reason, be different from the forms of existence which are perceptible to us. In this sense the world is unborn as is the flower in the sky, without any substantiality or self-nature or *ātmā*, that is, permanent principle of individuality, in it. In another sense the worldly forms of existence are nothing but Existence itself as it appears to our worldly vision and are hence permanent and eternal, not as individuals and particulars but as the universal Existence itself which is consequently termed the *Dharmadhātu*. What has been said above about Existence itself is true also about Light itself, named *Citta* or *Vijñāna*, for they are one and not different—to say that there is existence that is not revealed amounts to saying that existence is not existent. It

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is also Bliss itself, for here there is eternal rest from the conflicts of the dualistic world. The Buddha said, "When it is understood that there is nothing in the world but what is seen of the Mind itself, discrimination no more rises, and one is thus established in his own abode which is the realm of no-work." (*L. Sūtra*, lxxvii). Thus *Tathatā* is Existence, Light and Bliss, the three being one in it although differently perceived in the dualistic vision. This teaching is conveyed in verses 91 to 93 of *Asp.*

The two *dharmas*, *Samyag-jñāna* and *Tathatā*, which are really the one absolute monistic principle, form the *Pariniṣpanna svabhāva* of existence, the true reality, the *paramārtha*.

'*Nimitta*, *nāma* and *vikalpa* (correspond to) *Parikalpita* and *Paratantra svabhāvas*, and *Samyag-jñāna*, *Tathatā* to the *Pariniṣpanna*. (*L. Sūtra*, xxiii).

"*Samyag-jñāna* and *Tathatā*, Mahāmati, are indestructible and thus they are known as *Pariniṣpanna*". (*L. Sūtra*, lxxxiii).

As the *dharmas* cannot be dealt with separately as independent ones, they are generally treated together throughout the treatise. Verses 24 to 74 of *Asp.* are, however, devoted specially to *nimitta*, *nāmā* and *vikalpa*, and verses 75 to 100 to *Samyag-jñāna* and *Tathatā*.

Three kinds of *jñāna—Laukika*, *Śuddhalaukika* and *Lokottara*

In *Laukika jñāna* there is object as well as perception, in *Śuddhalaukika jñāna* there is no object but there is perception, in *Lokottara jñāna* there is neither object nor perception.

Existence and knowledge go together, for existence is the object of knowledge, the knowable. In the dualistic world they are different, but in the monistic realm they are one. Hence corresponding to existence as saṃvṛti and paramārtha there is knowledge as *saṃvṛti* and *paramātha*, and to existence as *Parikalpita*, *Paratantra* and *Pariniṣpanna* (or *Paramārtha*) there is knowledge as *Parikalpita*, *Paratantra* and *Pariniṣpanna* (or *Paramārtha*). In the subdivision of existence into five *dharmas*, *Paramārtha*, the monistic existence, is subdivided, for easy comprehension by the unenlightened people, into *Samyag-jñāna* and *Tathatā*, but here knowledge and the knowable being one and the same, the corresponding knowledge which embraces both of them in its transcendental and self-revealing grasp is called transcendental knowledge or *Lokottara jñāna* or, simply, *jñāna*. It is called in Mahāyāna literature *Ārya-jñāna*, or noble wisdom, and *Prajñā* or the highest knowledge. It is "the wise know

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ledge, the wise insight, the wise transcendental vision of the wise which is neither human nor celestial" (*L. Sūtra* lxix). "It is the inner realisation by noble wisdom of noble wisdom, and in this there is no thought of existence or non-existence" (*L. Sūtra* xxiii and xxxv). It is inexpressible, for here the triple distinction between the knower, knowledge and known vanishes and thus there is triple emancipation. It is knowledge which is unattainable, for it is the eternal truth and infinite. Dualistic knowledge is divided into *Laukika* (worldly) and *Śuddhalaukika* (super-worldly) according as it refers to the gross perception of objects as they are perceived by ignorant people, or to the subtle or refined (*śuddha*) perception of such advanced people as feel that objects are unreal but are still not so firmly established in true *jñāna* as to be able to give denial to their perception of them. He to whom the world is like a flower in the sky, never born, is the truly wise man possessed of *Lokottara jñāna*. [Verses 87 to 89 of *Asp.* deal with this tripartite division of knowledge].[1]

The eight vijñānas

The world and the super-world, as explained above, constitute the *saṃsāra* which is the play-ground of the triple combination of the perceiver, the perceived and perception, the light or consciousness which established a connection between the perceiver and the perceived. It is also the essence of the perceiver and the perceived, for on it depends their very existence. Transcendental knowledge is the spring-head from which issue the three conjoined streams of the perceiver, the perceived and perception. It is *vijñāna* or *vijñāna* itself (*vijñānamātra*) and, as issuing from it, the three are also nothing but *vijñānas*. This is the monistic idea. *Vijñāna* itself is the *Paramārtha* while the three are *saṃvṛti*. They are *vijñāna* itself as it appears through the veil of ignorance which though obtaining in the *saṃsāra* since beginningless time is an unreality, a nothing. Thus vijñāna can be divided primarily

1 Ryukan Kimura in *A Historical Study of the terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism* (Calcutta University) says that the doctrine that both subject and object are existing is of the *Sthaviravādins* and *Sarvāstivādins*, that subject is existing but object is not existing is the *Yogācāra* doctrine that both are not-existing is the *Mādhyamika doctrine*." (p. 185).

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into two kinds, namely, *paramārtha vijñāna* and *saṃvṛti vijñāna*. *Paramārtha vijñāna* is called *Ālaya-vijñāna* because it is the source of *saṃvṛti vijñāna*. It is also called *Citta* (Mind) or *Citta-mātra* (Mind itself).[2] The objective world is *cittadṛśya*, that is Mind-sight, the sight of Mind, or what is seen of Mind itself. In many places Gauḍapāda has not used this term for the objective world (*vide* verses 28, 64, 66). The subjective world is composed of *Manas* (the ego) and *Manovijñāna* (ego-consciousness). Gauḍapāda has not used these terms, but has referred to the subject as *jīva* (living being), *dṛk* (seer) and *grāhaka* (cogniser). Then there are the five *vijñānas* of the five senses. Thus in *saṃvṛti* we have seven *vijñānas*, namely, *Manas*, *Manovijñāna* and the five sense-*vijñānas*, which with *Vijñāna* itself, the *Paramārtha*, make up the number eight. For a fuller explanation of the terms of this classification it would be better to quote from the *Laṅkāvatara-sūtra*.

The Buddha says:—"With the *Manovijñāna* as cause and supporter, Mahāmati, there rise the seven *vijñānas*. Again, the *Manovijñāna* is kept functioning as it discerns a world of objects and becomes attached to it, and by means of manifold habit,—energy (or memory) it nourishes the *Ālaya-vijñāna*. The *Manas* is evolved along with the notion of an ego and its belongings, to which it clings and on which it reflects. It has no body of its own, nor its own marks; the *Ālayavijñāna* is its cause and support. Because the world which is the Mind itself is imagined real and attached to as such, the whole psychic system evolves mutually conditioning. Like the waves of the ocean, Mahāmati, the world which is the mind-manifested, is stirred up by the wind of objectivity, it evolves and dissolves. Thus, Mahāmati, when the *Manovijñāna* is got rd of, the seven *vijñānas* are also got rid of (*L. Sūtra liii*)."

The following analysis made by Aśvaghoṣa is interesting and instructive:—"By the law of causation (*hetupratyaya*) in the domain of birth-and-death (*saṃsāra*) we mean that depending on the Mind (i.e. *Ālayavijñāna*) an evolution of ego (*Manas*) and consciousness (*Vijñāna*) takes place in all beings. What is meant by this? In the all-conserving

2 Gauḍapāda has used both the terms *Vijñāna* and *Citta* for it, *vide* verses 26-28, 45, 54, 72.

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Mind (*Ālayavijñāna*) ignorance obtains; and from the non-enlightenment starts that which sees, that which represents, that which apprehends an objective world, and that which constantly particularises. This is called the ego (*Manas*). Five names are given to the ego (according to its different modes of operation). The first name is activity-consciousness (*Karmavijñāna*) in the sense that through the agency of ignorance an unenlightened mind begins to be disturbed. The second name is evolving-consciousness (*Pravṛtti-vijñāna*, that is, the subject) in the sense that when the mind is disturbed, there evolves that which sees an external world. The third name is representation-consciousness, in the sense that the ego (*Manas*) represents (or reflects) an external world. As a clear mirror reflects the images of all description, it is even so with the representation-consciousness. When it is confronted, for instance, with the five objects of sense, it represents them at once, instantaneously and without any effort. The fourth name is particularisation-consciousness, in the sense that it discriminates between different things defiled as well as pure. The fifth name is succession-consciousness (i.e. memory), in the sense that continuously directed by the awakening consciousness (or attention, *manaskāra*) it (*Manas*) retains and never loses or suffers the destruction of any *karma*, good as well as evil, which had been sown in the past, and whose retribution, painful as well as agreeable, it never fails to mature, be it in the present or in the future; and also in the sense that it unconsciously recollects things gone by, and in imagination anticipates things to come.

"Therefore the three domains (*triloka*) are nothing but the self-manifestation of the Mind (i.e. *Ālayavijñāna* which is practically identical with Suchness, *Bhūtatathatā*). Separated from the Mind, there would be no such things as the six objects of sense. Why? Since all things owing to the principle of their existence to the Mind (*Ālayavijñāna*), are produced by subjectivity (*smṛti*), all the modes of particularisation are the self-particularisation of the Mind. The Mind in itself (or the soul as Suchness) being, however, free from all attributes, is not differentiated. Therefore we come to the conclusion that all things and conditions in the phenomenal world, hypostasised and established only through ignorance (*avidyā*) and subjectivity (*smṛti*) on the part of all beings, have no more reality than the images in a mirror. They evolve simply from the ideality of a particularising mind. When the mind is disturbed, the multi-

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plicity of things is produced; but when the mind is quieted, the multiplicity of things disappears.

"By ego-consciousness (*Manovijñāna*) we mean that all ignorant minds through their succession-consciousness cling to the conception of I and not-I (that is, a separate objective world) and misapprehends the nature of the six objects of sense. The ego consciousness is also called separation-consciousness, or phenomena particularising-consciousness, because it is nourished by the perfuming influence of the prejudices (*āsrava*), intellectual as well as affectional.

"While the essence of the mind (*vijñāna*) is eternally clean and pure, the influence of ignorance makes possible the existence of a defiled mind. But inspite of the defiled mind, the Mind (itself) is eternal, clear, pure and not subject to transformation.

"Further, as its original nature is free from particularisation, it knows in itself no change whatever, though it produces everywhere the various modes of existence.

"When the oneness of the totality of things (*dharmadhātu*) is not recognised, then ignorance as well as particularisation arises, and all phases of the defiled mind are thus developed. But the significance of this doctrine is so extremely deep and unfathomable that it can be fully comprehended by Buddhas and no others" (*Awakening of Faith*, pp. 75-80).

The principle enunciated above is strictly followed by Gaudapāda throughout the *prakaraṇa*.

As regards the five sense-*vijñānas*, the Buddha says, "The reasons whereby the eye-consciousness arises are four. What are they? They are: (1)The clinging to an external world, not knowing that it is of Mind itself; (2) the attaching to form and habit-energy accumulated since beginningless time by false reasoning and erroneous views, (3) the self-nature inherent in the *vijñāna*, (4) the eagerness for multiple forms and appearances. By these four reasons, Mahāmati, the waves of the evolving *vijñānas* are stirred on the *Ālayavijñāna* which resembles the waters of a flood. The same (can be said of the other sense-consciousnesses) as of the eye-consciousness. This consciousness arises at once or by degrees in every sense-organ including its atoms and pores of the skin; the sense-field is apprehended like a mirror reflecting objects, like the ocean swept over by a wind. Mahāmati, similarly the waves of the

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mind-ocean are stirred uninterruptedly by the wind of objectivity; cause, deed and appearance condition one another inseparably; the functioning *vijñānas* and the original *vijñāna* are thus inextricably bound up together; and because the self-nature of form etc. is not comprehended, Mahāmati, the system of the five consciousnesses (*vijñānas*) comes to function. Along with this system of the five *vijñānas*, there is what is known as *Manovijñāna* (i.e., the thinking function of consciousness) whereby the objective world is distinguished and individual appearances are distinctly determined, and in this the physical body has its genesis. But the *Manovijñāna* and other *vijñānas* have no thought that they are mutually conditioned and that they grow out of their attachment to the discrimination which is applied to the projections of Mind itself. Thus the *vijñānas* go on functioning mutually related in a most intimate manner and discriminating a world of representations" (*L. Sutra* ix).

As regards the rise, abiding and ceasing of the *vijñānas* the Buddha says:—"There are two ways, Mahāmati, in which the rise, abiding and ceasing of the *vijñānas* take place, and this is not understood by the philosophers. That is to say, the ceasing takes place as regards continuation and form. In the rise of the *vijñānas*, also, these two are recognisable; the rise as regards continuation and the rise as regards form. In the abiding, also, these two (are distinguishable), the one taking place as regards continuation and the other as regards form.

"(Further), three modes are distinguishable in the *vijñānas*: (1) the *vijñāna* as evolving, (2) the *vijñāna* as producing effects, and (3) the *vijñāna* as remaining in its original nature.

"(Further), Mahāmati, in the *vijñānas*, which are said to be eight, two functions generally are distinguishable, the perceiving and the object-discriminating. As a mirror reflects forms, Mahāmati, the perceiving *vijñāna* perceives (objects). Mahāmati, between the two, the perceiving *vijñāna* and the object-discriminating *vijñāna*, there is no difference; they are mutually conditioning. Then, Mahāmati, the perceiving *vijñāna* functions because of transformations taking place (in the mind) by reason of a mysterious habit energy, while, Mahāmati, the object-discriminating *vijñāna* functions because of the mind's discriminating an objective world and because of the habit-energy accumulated by erroneous reasoning since beginningless time.

"Again, Mahāmati, by the cessation of all the sense-*vijñānas* is meant

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the cessation of the *Ālayavijñāna's* variously accumulating habit-energy which is generated when unrealities are discriminated. This, Mahāmati, is known as the cessation of the form-aspect of the *vijñānas*.

"Again, Mahāmati, the cessation of the continuation-aspect of the *vijñānas* takes place in this wise: that is to say, Mahāmati, when both that which supports (the *vijñānas*) and that which is comprehended (by the *vijñānas*) cease to function. By that which supports (the *vijñānas*) is meant the habit-energy (or memory) which has been accumulated by erroneous reasoning since beginningless time; and by that which is comprehended (by the *vijñānas*) is meant the objective world perceived and discriminated by the *vijñānas*, which is, however, no more than Mind itself.

"Mahāmati, it is like a lump of clay and the particles of dust making up its substance, they are neither different nor not-different; again, it is like gold and various ornaments made of it. If, Mahāmati, the lump of clay is different from its particles of dust, no lump will ever come out of them. But as it comes out of them it is not different from the particles of dust. Again, if there is no difference between the two, the lump will be indistinguishable from its particles.

"Even so, Mahāmati, if the evolving *vijñānas* are different from the *Ālayavijñāna*, even in its original form the *Ālaya* cannot be their cause. Again, if they are not different the cessation of the evolving *vijñāna*, will mean the cessation of the *Ālaya-vijñāna*, but there is no cessation of its original form. Therefore, Mahāmati, what ceases to function is not the *Ālaya* in its original self-form, 'but is the effect-producing form of the *vijñānas*. When this original self-form ceases to exist, then there will indeed be the cessation of the *Ālaya-vijñāna*. If, however, there is the cessation of the *Ālayavijñāna*, this doctrine will in no wise differ from the nihilistic doctrine of the philosophers." (*L. Sūtra*, iv).

The substance of these quotations is beautifully set forth in verses 45 to 57 of *Asp.* through the illustration of a fire-brand.

JNANENDRALAL MAJUMDAR

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The Subsidiary System in Rajputana*

Towards the close of the eighteenth century the once powerful State of Jaipur was rapidly approaching dissolution. Its troubles were in a large measure due to the character of the reigning Prince, Sawai Pratap Singh (1778—1803). A modern historian observes "Sawai Pratap Singh had no brains, but was not harmless and quiescent like most other imbeciles; his folly burst out in capricious violence. Anticipating the decadent Nawabs of Oudh, he used to dress himself like a female, tie bells to his ankles and dance within the harem. His time was mostly devoted to drinking and attending songs and dances .....sometimes he would sally forth at night with the ruffianly companions of his wine-cup, raid the houses of the bankers and jewellers, beat them and snatch away their money! In addition to his unkingly and unmanly vices, his reckless speech and violent temper alienated the proud Rajput nobility and they left his capital for their seats in shame and disgust."[1] Naturally the administration became inefficient and corrupt. Powerful vassals like the Shekhawat chiefs and Pratap Singh Naruka of Macheri seized Jaipur territory. Mahadji Sindhia employed De Boigne's battalions to realise tribute from Jaipur.[2]

In 1794 J. Pillet, a French military adventurer in the service of Sawai Pratap Singh, suggested the conclusion of an alliance between Jaipur and the East India Company.[3] In a letter addressed to Colonel John Murray, Military Auditor-General in Bengal, he observed, "I see nothing except a well-formed alliance between the Jaipur Rajah

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* For the Subsidiary System in Mewar and Marwar see the present writer's articles in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December-1945, September-1946.

1 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol. III, p. 337. Tod (*Annals of Amber*, ch. III) gives a different view of Sawai Pratap Singh's character: "He was a gallant prince, and not deficient in judgment; but neither gallantry nor prudence could successfully apply the resources of his petty state against its numerous predatory foes and its internal dissensions." Collins describes him as "a compound of pride meanness, cunning and avarice." (*Poona Residency Correspondence*, vol. VIII, No. 172). See also Pillet's remarks in *Poona Residency Correspondence*, vol. VIII, No. 1.

2 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 340-345, 349-392. See also his articles in *Modern Review*, May-1934, February-1944.

3 *Poona Residency Correspondence*, vol. VIII, No. 1.

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and the Government of His Britannic Majesty and the East India Company—if they see their interest in it—that can avert the deluge ready to descend on the Rajah's head, already preceded by a frightful tempest." The Jaipur Raja's requirements were thus defined by Pillet: "First a defensive and offensive treaty between him and the Company. Secondly, one of the Company's representatives at his court. Thirdly, the supplying by the British of 7,000 fusils, etc., 2,000 musketoons for a corps of cavalry, and as many pistols, sabres or swords, bandaroles, ect. Fourthly, permission to raise or recruit [troops] in your territory or in that of the Nawab Wazir (of Oudh)." Pillet assured Colonel Murray that the acceptance of these terms by the British authorities would enable the Raja of Jaipur to support them with 50,000 cavalry, besides the resources of his territory, "without asking for any return save a firm protection on the part of the Company and full liberty to enjoy his dominions in peace."

Colonel Murray's view was that "the Northern Rajahs ought to be held up in their independence of the Marathas as a counterpoise .....but this is chiefly to be effected by the Rajahs, through their own wisdom, by uniting to resist encroachments and by resolution to guarantee each other in their respective dominions."[4] In a letter[5] to Sir John Shore, dated July 10, 1794, he suggested the desirability of sending a Resident to the court of Jaipur. He observed. "The countenance of our Agent from the Government, to the Northern Rajahs, without any ties whatever, would serve to encourage them to unite and coalesce among themselves, by showing that the English wish them well, and have not any particular exclusive partiality for the Marathas, and if these last should understand that this Government does not wish that the Rajahs should be crushed, there is some chance that the power of the Rajahs might in the course of a little time, be so consolidated, as to enable them to resist the depredations of the Marathas." But Colonel Murray's advice was not accepted by Sir John Shore, for he was not prepared to assume new responsibilities in violation of Pitt's India Act.[6]

4 *Op. cit.*, vol. VIII, No. 2.

5 *Op. cit.*, vol. VIII, No. 3.

6 Section 34 of Pitt's India Act laid down that "to pursue Schemes of Conquest and Extension of Dominion in India, are Measures repugnant to the Wish, the Honour and Policy of the Nation." See A. C Banerjee, *Indian Constitutional Documents*, vol. I pp. 68-69.

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The policy of the British Government towards the Rajput States did not change even after the arrival of Lord Wellesley. In 1799 Wazir Ali, ex-Nawab of Oudh, murdered the British Resident at Benares and took refuge in Jaipur territory. At the instance of the Governor-General, Colonel Collins, Resident with Sindhia, went to Jaipur to demand the surrender of the "assassin." In the course of his conversations with the Resident, Sawai Pratap Singh "described, with much feeling, the oppressions and injuries that his subjects daily sustained from the rapacity and injustice of the Maratha chieftains, and concluded his speech with affirming that it was the earnest desire of himself, and several other Rajput Sardars, to form an alliance with the Honourable Company." Colonel Collins replied that he was not authorised by the Governor-General "to enter upon any subject of importance, which involved matters foreign to the object of his present mission." Wazir Ali was surrendered and taken to Calcutta.[7]

In the meanwhile the Marathas continued to ravage Jaipur territory. In 1800 the combined army of Jaipur and Jodhpur suffered a serious defeat in the battle of Malpura.[8] Sawai Pratap Singh made peace on payment of 25 *lakhs* of rupees. It was clear that the policy of resisting the Marathas could not be continued if external assistance was not available.

Sawai Pratap Singh died in 1803 and was succeeded by Sawai Jagat Singh, whom Tod[9] describes as "the most dissolute prince of his race or of his age." He was infatuated with an "Islamic concubine" called "Ras-caphoor", whom he "formally installed as queen of half of his dominions and actually conveyed to her in gift a moiety of the personality of the crown, even to the invaluable library of the illustrious Jey Singh, which was despoiled, and its treasures distributed amongst her base relations." Coins were struck in her name. The Raja not only rode with her on the same elephant, but demanded from his nobles those forms of respect towards her which were paid only to the legitimate queens. Heavy fines were imposed on those nobles who refused to respect her as a queen.[10] Naturally the nobles "held

7 *Poona Residency Correspondence*, vol. VIII; No. 183, 184, 186-191A, 193-198.

8 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's article in *Modern Review*, July, 1943.

9 *Annals of Amber*, ch. III.

10 Subsequently the Raja lent his ear to "a report injurious to the fair

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both his authority and his person in utter contempt" and entertained serious thoughts of deposing him. The condition of the country was miserable. Tod says, "The lofty walls which surrounded the beautiful city of Jey Singh were insulted by every marauder; commerce was interrupted and agriculture rapidly declined, partly from insecurity but still more from the perpetual exactions of his minions."[11] Such was the Prince who "continued to dishonour the *gadi* of Jey Singh" until his death (December 21, 1818).

Tod speaks enthusiastically of "the enlarged and prophetic views of Marquess Wellesley, which suggested the policy of uniting all the regular governments in a league against the predatory powers."[12] The "predatory powers" were, of course, the Marathas, specially Sindhia and Holkar, whose relations with the Pindaris were well-known. The "league" of "regular governments" was, naturally, to be organised and led by the British Government. The formation of such a "league" was rendered necessary by the Second Anglo-Maratha War. The Marathas were to be excluded from Hindustan by uniting the Rajput Princes in Subsidiary Alliances with the British Government. This change in British policy was responsible for the conclusion of treaties with Jaipur and Jodhpur[13] in 1803. Continually ravaged by the troops of Sindhia and Holkar, Jaipur readily accepted the guarantee of protection which "a firm and permanent friendship and alliance" with the East India Company seemed to imply. The treaty was 'settled' by General Lake, signed by him on December 12, 1803, and ratified by Lord Wellesley on January 15, 1804.

Article 1 of the treaty established "a firm and permanent friendship and alliance" between the East India Company and the Raja of Jaipur. Article 2 laid down that "the friends and enemies of one of the parties shall be considered the friends and enemies of both." Thus Jaipur was clearly entangled in the Anglo-Maratha struggle. The Company promised not to interfere in the internal administration of Jaipur, and no tribute was to be demanded from the Raja.

fame of his Aspasia" and condemned her to "the castle allotted for criminals" (the prison of Nahrgarh).

11 *Annals of Amber*, ch. III. 12 *Op. cit.*, ch. IV.

13 Lord Wellesley refused to conclude an alliance with Mewar. See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 168-169.

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(Article 3). Article 4 was obviously directed against the Marathas; "In the event of any enemy of the Honourable Company evincing a disposition to invade the country lately taken possession of by the Honourable Company in Hindostan, Maharajah Dheeraj shall send the whole of his forces to the assistance of the Company's army, and shall exert himself to the utmost of his power in repelling the enemy, and shall neglect no opportunity of proving his friendship and attachment." All disputes between Jaipur and any other State were to be submitted to the British Government for amicable settlement. If the British Government failed to settle the dispute owing to "the obstinacy of the opposite party," the Company would grant military assistance to Jaipur, provided the Raja "took upon himself the charge of the expense of such aid, at the same rate as had been settled with the other Chieftains of Hindostan." (Article 5). Military co operation was hardly to be distinguished from subordination, for the Raja agreed "to act during the time of war, or prospect of action, agreeably to the advice and opinion of the Commander of the English army which may be employed with his troops." (Article 6). The Raja engaged not to "entertain in his service, or in any manner give admission to, any English or French subjects, or any other person from among the inhabitants of Europe, without the consent of the Company's government." (Article 7).

Although there were complaints from the British side,[15] yet it seems that, on the whole Sawai Jagat Singh loyally fulfilled the demands preferred by the Company's officers engaged in hostilities against Holkar. Aitchison says, "That Chief fulfilled his obligations very imperfectly, and Lord Cornwallis, who had resolved to abandon the system of subsidiary alliances, declared the connection with Jaipur to be dissolved, and withdrew from that State the protection of the British Government. But before this resolution had been communicated the Maharaja had retrieved his credit by heartily co-operating against Holkar with Lord Lake, who had thereupon assured him of continued support. The policy of Lord Cornwallis, however, was followed by

14 Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, vol. III, 4th. ed., pp. 102-103.

15 Secret consultations, July 11, 1805, No. 2. (Imperial Record Department, New Delhi).

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Sir George Barlow who, notwithstanding the remonstrance of Lord Lake based on grounds both of general policy and of good faith, dissolved the alliance with Jaipur."[16] In July, 1806, the alliance with Jaipur was repudiated, and "the principal States of India" were "apprized of the grounds" on which this decision of the Governor-General was based.[17] That these "grounds" did not satisfy some of the most well-informed and efficient officers of the Company is clear from the following statement of Tod: "The Jeypur Court retained a lively, but no grateful remembrance, of the solemn obligations we contracted with her in 1803, and the facility with which we extricated ourselves from them when expediency demanded, whilst we vainly attempted to throw the blame of violating the treaty upon our ally."[18] Aitchison says, "The expediency of the dissolution of this alliance was considered to be very questionable by the Home Government, who in 1813 directed that Jaipur should again be taken under protection if an opportunity afforded."[19]

The reports sent by Captain Sturrock, Acting Resident at Jaipur, were primarily responsible for the repudiation of this alliance by the Supreme Government. Holkar's movements in Hindustan placed the Jaipur *Durbar* in a very difficult situation. In June, 1805, Holkar threatened that "as the Raja did not join him in endeavouring to reduce the British power within its limits..... he would destroy his country." This letter was shown to Captain Sturrock in order to convince him that the Jaipur *Durbar* did not "hold any improper correspondence with the enemy." But the Resident was not convinced. He reported to the Governor-General that the Rulers of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur were willing to form an anti-British coalition.[20] This suspicion was strengthened in October, 1805, when Sawai Jagat Singh hesitated, on various pretexts, to send his troops to join a British detachment. Captain Sturrock plainly told him that "his professions, contradicted by his actions, would not obtain credit with the British Government, which had experienced his insincerity and the little reliance that could be placed on his assertions." The Raja was accused

16 Aitchison *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 89-90.
17 Secret Consultations, February 13, 1807, No. 68.
18 Tod, *op. cit.*, ch. IV. 19 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 90.
20 Secret Consultations, July 11, 1805, No. 2.

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of allowing Holkar to draw supplies form Jaipur territory. This charge he "denied with much earnestness," but in vain. The Resident concluded a not very pleasant interview with the Raja by declaring that "if he pursued a different line of conduct in future, to that which good faith and a regard to his own interests required," the British Government would "abandon an alliance which from its nature must prove either very useful or very burdensome."[21] A few days later the Raja was assured that, "although the treaty would be dissolved by any delay or evasion on his part in performing the conditions of it, Government entertained no intention of attacking him or deviating in any manner from the general friendship which has so long subsisted between the two states."[22]

When the treaty was actually dissolved, the charges officially levelled against the Raja were answered by him in a letter[23] received by the Supreme Government on January 12, 1807. He was accused of "intentional delay and neglect" for his failure to co-operate with his troops at the siege of Bharatpur. He replied that during the siege he had not received any communication from the Commander-in-Chief requiring the assistance of his troops. The Commander-in-Chief merely asked him to station his troops on the frontier, and "in the event of any attempt on the part of the enemy to pass through Jaipur territory, to appear and arrest his progress." As Holkar did not proceed towards Jaipur, the Jaipur troops stationed on the frontier could do nothing. When Holkar turned to Rajputana after some delay, the Jaipur *Durbar* remained inactive in accordance with the advice of Major-General Jones. This "political connivance" was later on considered "in a wrong light" by the Commander-in-Chief. The Raja added that he had stationed his officers at different places "to furnish supplies, whenever they were procurable, for the British troops." In conclusion he observed, "With the utmost sincerity of heart, I have fulfilled every obligation of my alliance with the British Government and I have positively rejected the propositions of the Southern Chief who sought an alliance with me." This explanation did not satisfy the authorities at Calcutta.

21 Secret Consultations, December 31, 1805, No. 2.

22 Secret Consultations, December 31, 1805, No 14.

23 Political Consultations, January 15, 1807, No. 82.(Imperial Record Dement, New Delhi).

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The dissolution of the alliance left Jaipur a prey to the Marathas and the Pindaris. Instead of trying to save his kingdom from their depredations, Sawai Jagat Singh involved himself in a desperate struggle with Man Singh of Marwar, who was his rival for the hand of Krishna Kumari, a princess of Mewar.[24] He continued to pray for British assistance, but Lord Minto scrupulously followed the policy of non intervention in relation to Rajputana. Seton, Resident at Delhi, through whom the *vakils* of Jaipur sent their prayer to Calcutta, wrote to the Supreme Government on July 15, 1809, "I am very sensible of the political advantage of conciliating the Chiefs of the Rajput States to the westward of the British possessions, more especially those situated towards the Indus. If the powerful Rajas of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur—supporting the government of the latter country to be once more organised,—and the petty chiefs of Bikaner and Jaisalmer and the ruler of Bahawalpur were cordially attached to us, a barrier might be formed against invasion."[25] Two years later Metcalfe, Seton's successor, wrote "It is impossible to live in this part of India and to see the scenes which pass before our eyes without regretting that the Rajput States are not under our protection. A confederation of the Rajput States under the protection of the Central Government must be a favourite object with every man who has any charge of political duties in this quarter.....It would connect the Bengal and Bombay territories by a country that might then be considered for all political and military purposes our own..... It would deprive the vagabond armies of India (i.e., the Pindaris) of their principal resource for ravage and plunder.....The intervention of the Rajputs under our influence would prevent any co-operation between those Northern and Southern powers that we have reason to suppose ill affected towards us."[26] But Lord Minto decided that "no consideration of advantage, however alluring," should tempt the British Government to depart from "a scrupulous adherence to the obligations of its engagements."[27] Although the treaty of 1805 prevented the British Government from concluding alliances with Mewar, Marwar and

24 See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 234-263.
25 Political Consultations, August 5, 1809, No. 1.
26 Secret Consultations, July 12, 1811, No. 1.
27 *Op. cit.*, No. 2.

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Kotah; there was no such obstacle in the case of Jaipur. Lord Minto obviously put all the Rajput States in the same category.

It has been pointed out above that in 1813 the Home Government directed that an alliance should again be concluded with Jaipur if an opportunity afforded. "But, owing to the outbreak of the war with Nepal, it was considered better to postpone any such measure until it could be adopted as part of the general scheme for the suppression of the Pindaris."[28] Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of Sagauli Lord Hastings recorded in an elaborate Minute[29] (April 13, 1816) his view that Jaipur should be taken under British protection in order to prevent Sindhia or Amir Khan from consolidating their hold over that State. Metcalfe was authorised to conclude a treaty with Jaipur without delay.[30]

Metcalfe was in full sympathy with the new policy initiated by Lord Hastings. The instructions[31] issued to him on April 20, 1816, were bold as well as precise. The negotiations were to be "conducted in such a manner as to render evident to the Raja that it is his interest and not that of the British Government that is principally concerned in their success, that we are yielding to his solicitations and not seeking our own advantage." He was to be solemnly warned that "to deserve the benefits of our alliance" he must "enter into it with a firm resolution to adhere in all events to the British Government." The price demanded by Lord Hastings from the Raja of Jaipur was defined in the following words: "the establishment of a British force in the country, the whole or a large proportion of the expenses of which is to be borne by the Raja; a control over the conduct of the exterior relation of that Government; exclusion from Jaipur territory of all foreign influence and power; and the disposal of the military power and resources of Jaipur for all purposes connected with the alliance and the general welfare of the two States." The British Government must have the right "to introduce into Jaipur territory at all times any number of troops it may deem requisite for the furtherance of the common interests of the two States,

28 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 90.

29 Secret Consultations, April 20, 1816, No. 1.

30 Among the members of the Governor-General's Council Edmonstone opposed this proposal. (Secret Consultations, April 20, 1816, No. 2).

31 Secret Consultations, April 20, 1816, No. 6.

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but it should be declared that the Raja will not be subjected to any additional charge on this account, except when the troops are augmented at his express solicitation or for objects exclusively his own." The amount of subsidy was to be fixed with reference to the financial condition of Jaipur; it was not to be placed "on such a note as would render the punctual discharge of it a matter of difficulty." In addition to the subsidiary force, the Raja should be asked to maintain a body of troops "to be at the disposal of the British Government for purposes of common interest." With regard to the control of external relations, the British Government must regulate the payment of tribute, if any, by Jaipur to Sindhia and Holkar. The British Government, on its part, would defend the Raja against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and guarantee the integrity and "independence of his territory."

When negotiations were opened it was found that Sawai Jagat Singh was reluctant to enter into a fresh alliance. The repudiation of the alliance of 1803 was not forgotten. Tod says, "A circumstance that tended to increase this distrust was our tearing Vizier Alli from his sanctuary at Jaipur, which has cast an indelible stain upon the Cuchwaha name.....*sirna*, or 'sanctuary,'.....when claimed by the unfortunate or criminal, is sacred in the eye of the Rajpoot. This trust we forced the Jeypur state to violate, though she was then independent of us. It was no excuse for the act that the fugitive was a foul assassin: we had no right to demand his surrender."[32] The tribute demanded by Metcalfe—one-fifth of the gross revenues, together with a "prospective increase" of nearly one-third of all surplus revenue beyond 40 *lakhs*—was considered "a high rate of insurance for protection." Tod adds, "..... there were abundance of private and individual motives arrayed in hostility to the British offer. For example: the ministers dreaded the *surveillance* of a resident agent, as obnoxious to their authority and influence; and the chieftains, whom rank and ancient usage kept at court as the counsellors of their prince, saw in prospect the surrender of crown-lands, which fraud, favour or force had obtained for them."[33] But "the increasing necessities of the State; the example of its neighbours and the apprehension of being excluded from British protection; the continued exactions of Amir Khan's troops, who were permitted to

32 *Annals of Amber*, ch. IV. 33 *Op. cit.*

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remain in the country till Jaipur should enter into the general scheme of suppressing the Pindaris; and the arrangements in progress for forming separate engagements with the small States depending on Jaipur,—all these concurring causes led at length to Maharaja Jagat Singh's accepting[34] a Treaty[35] on the 2nd April 1818, by which the protection of the British Government was extended to Jaipur."[36]

Article 1 provided for "perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interest" between the Company and the ruler of Jaipur, and added that "the friends and enemies of one party shall be the friends and enemies of both parties." By Article 2 the British Government engaged "to protect the territory of Jeypore and to expel the enemies of that principality." By Article 3 the Raja promised to "act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy" and to maintain no connection with other Chiefs and States. By Article 4 he engaged not to "enter into negotiation with any Chief or State without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government." All disputes between Jaipur and other States were to "be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government." (Article 5). Article 6 regulated the question of tribute: "The first year— in consideration of the depopulated state of the country—nothing. The second year—four *lakhs*. The third year—five. The fourth year—six. The fifth year—seven. The sixth year and ever afterwards—eight, until the Raja's revenue should exceed forty *lakhs*, when, in addition to eight *lakhs*, we should receive five-sixteenth of all the revenue above forty *lakhs*."[37] In addition to tribute, Jaipur undertook to "furnish troops according to its means, at the requisition of the British Government." (Article 7). Article 8 ran as follows: "The Maharaja and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their territory and their dependents according to long established usage and the British civil and criminal jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality."

Tod points out the far-reaching implications of the treaty in the

34 For the negotiations see A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 272-295.

35 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 104-105.

36 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 90.

37 Secret Consultations, April 17, 1818, No. 74.

In this arrangement the Jaipur Court "saw, instead of the generous Briton, a sordid trafficker of mercenary protection, whose rapacity transcended that of the Maharatta." (Tod, *Annals of Amber*, ch. IV).

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following words: "Both the sixth and seventh articles contain the seeds of disunion, whenever it might suit the chicanery or bad faith of the protected, or the avarice of the protector. The former has already been called into operation, and the 'absolute rulers' of Jeypur have been compelled to unfold to the resident agent the whole of their financial and territorial arrangements, to prove that the revenues did not exceed the sum of forty lakhs, as of the sum in excess (besides the stipulated tributary *fifth*) our share was to be *three-sixteenths*."[38] As in the case of several other Rajput States,[39] the British Government had to "arbitrate the difference between the Raja (of Jaipur) and his vassals on the subject of the usurpations from the crownlands." Here the arbitration was "easy, and left no unpleasant feeling."[40] "But," says Tod, "when we intermeddled with the intrigues respecting the succession, our ignorance of established rights and usage rendered the interference offensive, and made the Jeypur chiefs repent the alliance which temporary policy had induced their prince to accept."[41]

Sawai Jagat Singh died on December 21, 1818, without leaving any natural or adopted heir. On the morning succeeding his death a minor named Mohan Singh,[42] a distant relative of the ruling family, was installed on *gadi* by the chief eunuch of the *rawula*[43] (seraglio)—a man named Mohan Nazir— who at that time held the reins of power in his hands. Tod describes him as 'a man of considerable vigour of understanding and not without the reputation of good intention in his administration of affairs." But the selection of Mohan Singh's successor "savoured more of self-interest than of loyalty." Tod himself says, "The youth was but nine years of age and a long minority, with the exclusive possession of power, suggested the true motives of the Nazir."[44] The *Nazir* declared that the adoption of Mohan Singh was in conformity to

38 *Annals of Amber*, ch. IV.

39 For Mewar see the present writer's article in *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, vol. XXXI, Part IV, 1945.

40 Tod, *Annals of Amber*, ch. IV 41 *Op. cit.*

42 Son of Manohar Singh, Raja of Narwar, "who was chased from his throne and country by Sindhia".

43 "Jeypur and Boondi are the only of the Rajpoot principalities who, adopting the Mooslem custom, have contaminated the places of their queens with the presence of these creatures." (*Annals of Amber*, ch. IV).

44 *Annals of Amber*, ch. IV.

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the desire of the deceased Raja; but there was no evidence in favour of this statement. The selection was in violation of established usage;[45] "there was no previous consultation or concert amongst the military vassals, or the queens." The Nazir "acted entirely on his own responsibility."[46] After the installation, however, he tried to secure the approval of the nobles and the British Government. The nobles refused to commit themselves. The Resident of Delhi sent his confidential *Munshi* to Jaipur with instructions to make a thorough enquiry into the question of succession. The *Munshi* reported in favour of the *Nazir*. On February 7, 1819, the confirmation of Mohan Singh by the British Government was publicly declared at Jaipur.

Even the approval of the Paramount Power could not secure the acquiescence of the nobles in this hasty and ill-considered arrangement. The chief queen of Sawai Jagat Singh, sister of Raja Man Singh of Jodhpur, "breathed nothing but open defiance of the Nazir and his junta". She was supported by the nobles. Early in March, 1819, the *Rajawut* chief of Jhulaye decided to appeal to arms in support of his rights as heir presumptive, and he was soon joined by the chiefs of Sirwur and Esurda. Another party tried to revive the claim of Man Singh, the posthumous son of Prithvi Singh, who had been living

45 Tod says, "On the demise of a prince without lawful issue of his body, or that of near kindred, brothers or cousins, there are certain families in every principality (*raj*) of Rajwara, in whom is vested the right of presumptive heirship to the *gadi*. In order to restrict the circle of claimants, laws have been established in every state limiting this right to the issue of a certain family in each principality." In the case of Jaipur this right belonged to "the branch Rajawut (according to seniority), of the stock of Raja Maun. Even in this stock there is a distinction between those prior, and those posterior, to Raja Madhu Sing; the former are styled simply *Rajawut*, or occasionally conjoined, *Madhu singhote*; the other *Madhani*. The Rajawuts constitute a numerous *frerage*, of which the Jhulary house take the lead; and in which, provided there are no mental or physical disabilities, the right of furnishing heirs to the *gadi* of Jeypur is a long-established, incontrovertible, and inalienable privilege." (*Annals of Amber*, ch. IV).

46 He was supported by Megh Singh of Diggee, "a chief who had contrived by fraud and force to double his hereditary fief by usurpations from the crown-lands," and whose sole purpose was to retain his illegal acquisitions. The personal servants of the crown as well as the subordinate officers identified their interests with those of the *Nazir*.

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for many years in exile at Brindaban.[47] In this crisis the *Nazīr* tried to secure the support of Raja Man Singh of Jodhpur and Rana Bhim Singh of Udaipur, but his efforts proved unsuccessful.[48] Civil war seemed imminent, but Jaipur was saved by the timely discovery that one of the queens of Sawai Jagat Singh—the Bhattiani queen—was pregnant. On April 25, 1819, she gave birth to a son, who was called Jai Singh III. He was recognised as heir both by the Jaipur nobles and the British Government, and his mother was recognised as Regent. Mohan Singh was set aside.

During the Regency of the Bhattiani queen (1819-1833) "Jaipur was a scene of corruption and misgovernment, and the British Government found it necessary to appoint an officer to reside at Jaipur and to authorise him to interfere in the internal administration of the State, with the view of guarding the interests of Government and securing the payment of the tribute."[49] This was, of course, a clear violation of the 8th Article of the treaty of 1818. The following observations of Tod were prophetic: "While we deem ourselves justified in interfering in the two chief branches of government, the succession and finances, how is it possible to avoid being implicated in the acts of the government functionaries and involved in the party views and intrigues of a court, stigmatized even by the rest of Rajwara with the epithet of *jootha durbar*, the 'lying court'? While there is a resident agent at Jeypur, whatever his resolves, he will find it next to impossible to keep aloof from the vortex of intrigue. The purest intentions, the highest talents, will scarcely avail to counteract this systemtic vice, and with one party at least, but eventually with all, the reputation of his government will be compromised."[50]

On one occasion at least the weakness of the Jaipur *Durbar* made it necessary for the British Government to adopt a strong policy. In 1827 some nobles of Jodhpur revolted against Raja Man Singh and decided to put the pretender Dhokul Singh[51] on the *gadi*. They assembled their followers and prepared to invade Jodhpur from the

47 See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, p. 205.
48 See Tod, *Annals of Amber*, ch. IV.
49 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 91.
50 *Annals of Amber*, ch. IV.
51 See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 235-250.

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Jaipur territory. "By giving facilities for this attack on Jodhpur, the Jaipur State was considered to have violated its treaty engagements in such a manner as to justify the British Government in adopting any measures which might seem expedient, both for resenting the infraction of a positive engagement, and for preventing its mischievous effects. Strong remonstrances were, therefore, addressed to the Maharaja of Jaipur."[52]

The Bhattiani Rani had a paramour named Jota Ram. His influence over the Regent enabled him to acquire great power in the State. Towards the close of Lord Amherst's administration the British Resident banished Jota Ram and conferred the post of Minister on Rawal Bairisal. But Jota Ram's party continued to disturb the State; Rawal Bairisal was dismissed. The Rani succeeded in inducing the British Government to sanction the recall of Jota Ram. The nobles remained hostile to the Rani and refused to accept the rule of an adventurer like Jota Ram. Sir Charles Metcalfe was able, however, to persuade the nobles to agree to the continuation of the Rani's Regency. This arrangement did not work satisfactorily. Jota Ram, who had become Minister with the approval of the British Government, exploited the peasantry and tried to crush the nobility. The privileges of the nobles were curtailed, and an attempt was made to substitute the Raja's troops for theirs in the garrisoning of some strongholds. A civil war broke out in 1830. As Lord William Bentinck was in favour of the policy of non-intervention, the rival parties were free to fight out their quarrel without British intervention. A British force was, however, sent against Jota Ram when he threatened the estates of some nobles whom the British Government had guaranteed in their possessions. Jota Ram gave up his plan and soon afterwards he was weakened as a result of the Rani's death (1833). The young Maharaja Jai Singh III died in 1835, and it was strongly suspected that he had been poisoned by Jota Ram.

Jaipur was now confronted with a serious crisis. The heir to the throne was an infant two years of age—Ram Singh, son of Jai Singh III. Jota Ram was all-powerful. The nobles were assembling at the capital at the head of their armed retainers. Major Alves, the Political Agent, came to Jaipur to make enquiries, reform the administration, and assume the guardianship of the infant heir. Jota Ram

52 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 141.

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made an insincere offer to resign and secretly organised a diabolical conspiracy. "By raising a popular disturbance on the very day of the Political Agent's arrival, and by hiring assassins to murder the English officers, he hoped to embroil the *thakurs* with the Government, and that he might be brought back to power through their being discredited." The Agent was wounded and his Assistant, Mr. Blake, was killed. Enquiries revealed the part played by Jota Ram in organising disturbances and instigating murders. He and his brother were imprisoned for life in the fort of Chunar.[53]

Soon afterwards a Council of Regency, consisting of five of the principal nobles, was formed under the superintendence of the Political Agent, and it was decided that all important measures were to be submitted to him for approval. Thus the State was virtually placed under complete British control. The primary object of the British Government was to realise the large arrears of the tribute which had accumulated during the last few years. As the tribute was found to be too heavy for the State, in 1842 a remission was made of 46 *lakhs* of arrears and the annual tribute was reduced to 4 *lakhs* of rupees. This alteration was formally recorded in a treaty[54] concluded on August 31, 1871. The minority of Ram Singh saw the beginning of an era of peace and prosperity for Jaipur.

(*To be continued*)

A. C. Banerjee

53 See Boulger, *Lord William Bentinck*, pp. 140-144.
54 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 107-108.

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The First Afghan War—A Review

The Anglo-Afghan policy in the time of Lord Auckland,[1] leading to the First Afghan War and its disastrous consequences, has met with almost universal condemnation at the hands of the historians, both English and Indian. Most of them consider the war as politically one of the most inexpedient and morally the least justfiable ever waged by the British in Asia. But before one attempts to justify it or pass censure on the invasion of Afghanistan by the Anglo-Indian army in 1839 and the restoration of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk[2] to the throne of Kabul, one needs trace briefly the history of 'Russophobia' and examine carefully the various issues arising therefrom.

The history of Afghanistan as an independent kingdom may be traced back to the year 1747[3] when Ahmad Shah Abdali established the rule of the Saddozai[4] dynasty in that country. He was a man of uncommon physical strength and political acumen. He carved out before long a great empire which included Afghanistan, Khurasan, Baluchistan, Sind, Peshawar, Kashmir and the Punjab. But soon after his death in 1773, and the dismemberment of his empire, the possibility of a Russian invasion from the north-west drew the attention of British statesmen to the question of India's defence from the north-west. It became a burning question of the day when Napolean Bonaparte came into prominence in Europe at the close of the 18th century.

This dread of a Russian invasion of India prompted the British Government to send political missions to the Courts of Persia, Afghanistan and the Punjab as early as the beginning of the 19th century.

M. Elphinstone's Mission to Shah Shuja

The British mission under Mountstuart Elphinstone sent to Kabul in 1809 had been originally empowered to 'receive from the king of Kabul proposals having their bases the employment of the power and resources

1 Governor-General of India from 1836 to 1842.

2 Since 1816 a British pensioner at Ludhiana. He was the ruler of Afghanistan from 1803 to 1809.

3 Bellew's *Afghanistan and the Afghans*, pp. 21-22.

4 One of the clans of the *Abdali* tribe, more commonly known from his time by the name of *Durreni*.

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of that against the advance of any European army.' But a slight manoeuvre on the chess-board of European politics in the spring of 1809 brought on a like change in the Anglo-Afghan policy. Elphinstone was instructed that it was no longer necessary to entertain a thought of oppressive operations against Persia. Even defensive engagements were to be avoided, and the Governor General wrote to Elphinstone that 'should the contracting of those engagements be absolutely required by the king, the eventual aid to be afforded by us ought to be limited to supplies of arms, ordnance and military stores rather than troops.'[5]

In the 3rd decade of the 19th century the Russians were found advancing towards the Caspian Sea. The Treaty of Turkmanchai, concluded in 1828 between Russia and Persia was, in fact, a triumph for Russia, as it gave her a perpetual influence over Persia. It became all the more evident with the death of Fateh Ali Shah[6] in October 1834 and the accession to the throne of his grandson, Mohammad Shah, who was an enthusiastic partisan of Russia.[7] He admitted Russian emissaries to his court and connived at the entry of Russian troops in his kingdom. Count Simonich, the Russian minister at his court, industriously stimulated his aspiration which urged him to the enterprise of conquering the independent principality of Herat on the western border of Afghanistan.

Commercial Mission to Kabul

This state of affairs to the North-West of India roused the anxieties of the British statesmen who felt sure that, even if Russia did not herself design an invasion of India, she was, at least, pushing forward the Persians eastward and thus disturbing the peace of the East. They deemed it, therefore, necessary to attempt to bring the Amir[8] of Kabul under the British influence and make his country a buffer state. Thus it was that the British Government despatched a Mission[9] to Kabul in 1837. It was, in fact, a counterstroke to the Russian machination in Persia.

5 MSS Record—Kaye's *History of the War in Afghanistan*, pp. 83-85.

6 King of Persia.

7 'India and the Far East (1833-49). *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, vol. II, p. 201.

8 Amir Dost Mohammad Khan Barakzai (grand-father of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan) who had succeeded in 1826 in making himself supreme at Kabul.

9 'The project of a commercial mission to a country like Afghanistan which had no commerce worth mentioning, which was shut off from India by mountain

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Amir Dost Mohammad Khan was not unaware of the importance attached to his country by the British Government. He expressed his willingness to become a comfortable ally provided they would agree to exert diplomatic pressure on Maharaja Ranjit Singh for the restoration of Peshawar[10] to him. But the British Government did not feel like jeopardising their alliance with the Sikh ruler, whom they looked upon as their loyal and trustworthy ally. Sir Alexander Burnes[11] pleaded the doctrine of non-interference on the part of his government, and tried to dissuade him from making a reciprocal demand.[12] But the Amir remained firm in his demand although it appears from the study of contemporary records that he was sincere in his desire for the British alliance.[13] Burnes himself was convinced of the sincerity and goodwill of the Amir towards his government. And this fact is amply borne out from the study of the following passage from a letter written by him to Mr. Macnaghten on the 30th December, 1837:—

> 'The present position of the British Government at the capital appears to me a most gratifying proof of the estimation in which it is held by the Afghans. Russia has come forward with offers which are certainly substantial. Persia has been lavish in her promises and

ranges and guarded by war-like, plunder-loving tribes, was meant to cover some ulterior, though possibly harmless design.' 'Afghan Papers,' 1839, Trotter, *Rulers of India—'Auckland'* p. 37.

10 Mohan Lal, *Life of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan of Kabul*, vol. I, p. 246.

11 Head of the 'Commercial Mission.' He was a great linguist and traveller, and had gained an invaluable knowledge of Afghanistan and its people by his earlier travels in that country.

12 The British Government wished Peshawar to be restored to 'Peshawar brothers.'—Burnes to Government of India, dated Kabul, 5th October 1837 *Book* No. 108, *Letter* No. 39, *Punjab Records*. Also Mohan Lal, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 258.

But the Amir knew that to reinstate Sultan Mohammad Khan in Peshawar was tantamount to paving the way for the march of the Sikhs to the very threshold of Kabul. It was, in fact, due to Sultan Mohammad Khan's treachery that the town had been lost to the Afghan kingdom.

13 When Kohindil Khan (chief of the Qandahar brothers) had made up his mind to side with Persia and to send his son thither as the bearer of presents to the Shah and the Russian embassy to the Teheran court, he had written to him in strong terms dissuading him from adopting a rash course. He had even openly denounced before Burnes the conduct of the Qandahar chief in embracing the Persian alliance.

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Bohkara and other states have not been backward. Yet in all that has passed or is daily transpiring, the chief of Kabul declares that he prefers the sympathy and friendly offices of the British to all those offers however alluring they may seem, from Persia or from the emperor, which certainly places his good sense in a light more than prominent and in his humble judgment proves that, by an earlier attention to those countries we might have escaped the whole of those intrigues and held long since a stable influence in Kabul.'[14]

In the face of such 'alluring offers' from the neighbouring powers very few rulers, placed in the position of the Amir of Kabul, would care for the interest of a particular neighbouring State. But his frankness and sincere entreaties were reciprocated by the British Government merely in the form of their promised lip sympathy and vague goodwill.

The Amir had made no secret of the reasons of his anxiety to bring Peshawar under his possession as also his fears in the event of the town being left in the hands of others. The following sentences, which were omitted from the published letters, throw further light on his honest and fair deal with the British Government:—

'I admit that it will be highly beneficial in many ways to see the Sikhs once more eastward of the Indus, but I still can dispense with none of my troops, or relax in my precautionary measures, as equal, if not greater, anxieties will attach to me. I have unbosomed myself to you and laid bare, without any suppression, my difficuties. I shall bear in lively remembrance the intended good office of the British Government and shall deplore that my interest did not permit me to accept that which was tendered in a spirit so friendly but which to me and my advisers has only seemed hastening my ruin. To Ranjit Singh your interference is beneficial, as he finds himself involved in serious difficulties by the possession of Peshawar and he is too glad of your offices to escape from a place which is a burden to his finance, but that a debt of gratitude is exactable from him and not from me. and if your Government will look into this matter, they will discover my opinion to be far from groundless and my conclusions the only safe policy I can pursue.'[15]

But his entreaties and appeals failed to bring the British Government

14 *Calcutta Review*, No. xiii, March, 1847, p. 35, footnote.
15 *Kaye's War*, vol.I, pp. 192-93.

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to his way of thinking, and on the 21st February,[16] 1838, the Governor- General finally declared that his Government could not accede to the request of the Amir, and that Peshawar would remain with the Sikhs. It was then and then alone, as a last resort, that the Amir swung over to the Russo-Persian side and received the Russian envoy Vitkievitch[17] who had already arrived at Kabul, but whom the Amir had till then kept at arm's length.

The semblance of the Russo-Afghan alliance was perhaps taken by the British statesmen for a direct menace to the British power in India. The Persian army, they seem to have thought, had already arrived at Herat and the Russian officers were in the Persian court. And now the Amir of Kabul had decided to throw in his lot with Russia. Various conflicting thoughts passed and repassed in their minds. It was held that after having conquered Herat, the Shah of Persia might advance on Qandahar, or straight on Kabul, or transfer Herat to the Qandahar chiefs, or by rendering help to Dost Mohammad Khan against the Sikhs, bring him under obligation, and then make the buffer state of Afghanistan a platform for further action.

The Home Government[18] which had been greatly upset by press reports about the so-called aggressive policy of Russia apprising from its steady movements towards the East, urged the Indian Government the necessity of taking vigorous measures for counteracting Russia's insidious designs on the north-west frontier of India.

Lord Auckland's Advisers

To make matters worse, Lord Auckland who undoubtedly possessed

16 In the famous Simla Manifesto issued on October, 1st, 1938, Lord Auckland remarked that in order to patch up differences between the Amir of Kabul and the Sikh Maharaja, he 'resolved on authorising Capt. Burnes to intimate to Dost Mohammad Khan that if he should evince a disposition to come to just and reasonable terms with the Maharaja, His Lordship would exert his good offices with His Highness for the restoration of an amicable understanding between the two Powers.' He further on added that the Maharaja at once assented to the proposition of the Governor-General to the effect that, in the meantime, hostilities should be suspended.'

17 *Alias* Umar Beg, *Book* No. 121, Letter No. 2, 3. *Punjab Records.*

18 'The Secret Committee acted merely as the organ of Sir J. C. Hobhouse and Lord Palmerston, who again acted on information from McNeil at Teheran'. Keene, *History of India*, vol. II, p. 144.

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clear judgment, integrity of purpose and immense capacity and sagacity, was unluckily infirm of purpose. He happened to be surrounded, at that particular juncture, by advisers who were perhaps too clever for their age and a little over-enthusiastic, impulsive and rather visionary. They were Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Macnaghten[19] and Mr. Torrin.[20] They seem to have conceived a prejudice against the Amir, and made the best use of this opportunity by making matters worse. They held that Afghanistan must either be in possession of 'an ally who is interested in resisting aggression and establishing tranquility, or allow itself to remain an instrument of mischief and alarm to the British Empire.' But they failed to view the problem as a political movement intended to checkmate the designs of another great diplomatic European Power. As it eventually turned out, the Governor-General in the heat of the moment decided to reinstate Shah Shuja ul-Mulk on his ancestral throne at Kabul.

The famous tri-partite treaty [21] between Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk and Maharaja Ranjit Singh under the guarantee of the British Government was concluded at Lahore on the 26th June, 1838, and on the 7th August, 1839, Shah Shuja was escorted by the 'Army of Indus' to Bala Hissar,[22] in the heart of Kabul, while the Anglo-Indian army remained in military occupation of the country for about two years. The restoration of the Saddozai king was hailed by the unanimous acclamations of the English and Anglo-Indian press. It brought on the various civil and military services showers of honours and rewards in the forms of titles, pensions and promotions with an unexampled profusion.[23]

But it was one thing to restore the newly-adopted British protégé on his ancestral throne and another to win back the affection and loyalty of

19 Chief Secretary and confidential adviser to the Governor General.

20 Assistant to Mr. Macnaghten.

21 Aitchison, C.U. *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads,* vol. VII, p. 154.

22 The word *Bala Hissar* implies 'upper town or castle,' e.g. *'bala khana,'* which means upper storey, balcony—which means the upper room. Here the royal palace was situated. It was built by the Chughtai or Mughal emperors. Its walls were made of stone, sun-burnt bricks and mud, and were 35 ft. in height.

23 Lord Auckland was created an Earl, Sir John Keane made a Peer, and Mr. Macnaghten a Baronet. Capt. Burnes and Lieut-Col. Wade were knighted.

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the people for him; the disaffection against the titular king and the overriding British paraphernalia was, before long, perceptible in the length and breadth of the country. The consequences of this disaffection and the shares of misery and foul play, which befell the British officers and soldiers in Afghanistan, are too well known to need repetition. Suffice it to say that out of 4,500 fighting men and 12,000 camp followers, who had set out from Kabul on 6th January, 1842,[24] to find their way back to India through the passes, only one man[25] was able to reach Jalalabad on the afternoon of 13th January, 1842.[26] The reverses which befell the British arms were calamitous and the extermination most complete and disastrous.

Political Aspect of the Issue

The political need of the time was to ensure the independence and integrity of Afghanistan by nipping in the bud all possible chances of the spread of a Russian influence in that country. But in order to achieve that end they decided to replace the Amir of Kabul by a ruler who might accede to the diplomatic pressure of the Anglo-Indian Government without any hitch or murmur, and who might be able and willing to counteract the object of whatever states might meditate designs hostile to the British interest.[27] The Persian attack on, and siege of, Herat[28] in November 1837 was one of the excuses made in the Simla Manifesto for the expedition to Kabul, but before the Manifesto had reached public hands, all semblance of danger had passed away because of the raising of the siege of Herat by Persia on 9th September, 1838. The British Government had learnt[29] about it in time; but on November 8th, 1838, Lord Auckland published an *Order* to the effect that although the siege of Herat had been raised by the Shah of Persia yet 'he will continue to prose-

24 *Journal of Disasters in Afghanistan by Lady Sale*, p. 221.

25 Dr. Bryden.

26 Eyre, *Military Operations at Cabul* p. 233; Durand, *The First Afghan War and its Causes* p. 377.

27 The main object of the British mission sent to the court of Persia in 1799 under Capt. Malcolm was to instigate the Shah to move an army upon Herat and thus to force Shah Zaman (king of Afghanistan) to withdraw from his threatened invasion of India—*Kaye's War*.

28 From Lieut-Col. Stoddart, dated Herat, the 10th Sept. 1838, addressed to the Government of India.

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cute with vigour the measures which have been announced, with a view to the substitution of a friendly, for a hostile power, in the Eastern Provinces of Afghanistan and to the establishment of a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression upon North-West Frontier.[29]

The question worth consideration is:—did the Shah of Persia raise the siege because of his poor resources to support the contest, or because the British Government had strengthened the Island of Karak?[30] In the former case the Persians were a weak enemy and , therefore, the rulers of Qandahar and Kabul too had no reason to be afraid of them. It was a clear proof of the weak position of Persia, and the British Government should have feared no danger from that quarter. They could see 'that the march of a British army was, after all, not indispensable for the defence of British Empire in India'.[31]

Dost Mohammad Khan and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk

The two candidates for the British Government to choose from were Dost Mohammad Khan and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk.

Dost Mohammad Khan was 'a man of rare strength of character and

29 In February 1838, Lord Auckland had expressed in a dispatch to the Secret Committee of the Directors a different view about the Persian expedition. He had plainly written to them that even if the expedition succeeded, he would not make immediate and direct interference by arms or money, for he did not believe that the Persian Government was strong enough to hold Afghanistan for long. But later on he had a change in his opinion. He began to feel that the supremacy of Persia over Afghanistan might also lead to the spread of the influence of Russia in that country, for Persia was almost under the thumb of Russia. He expressed these views in his dispatch to the Secret Committee of the Directors, dated the 27th April, 1838.

30 The occupation of the Island of Karrak by the British troops dispatched from Bombay had been almost simultaneously effected with the final assault on Herat. Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

31 Rawlinson, *England and Russia in the East*, p. 58.

In fact, the exaggerated fears of the Russian power and intrigue, entertained by Ellis, McNeil, Burnes and Wade, were based on the assumption that Afghanistan was the British frontier and that the capture of Herat by Persia, which, they thought, was a tool in the hands of Russia, might involve imminent fear to the security of their Indian empire.—Durand, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

But the fortresses of Ghorian and Herat are so much in advance of the main territories of Persia that they can hardly add to its power, rather they would compromise a certain portion of its strength in men and means by isolating them at a vast distance from support in the midst of a hostile country.

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singular ability and shrewdness.' He throughly understood the people over whom he ruled, and he had been as yet the only ruler during the present (19th) century, who had been able to hold together the different provinces of his kingdom under his own individual away.'[32] He was popular among his subjects—the nobility as well as the poor class; the nobility because he treated them almost on terms of equality and allowed them to enjoy their tribal rights and concessions in his regime, and the poor class because he was accessible to the meanest of his subjects at all times.[33] He was 'frank, manly and urbane, a stout and usually victorious warrior, apt for business and surrounded by the magnetism of an able and successful chief.' Such a man, as Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, might have been, with moderate terms and generous concessions, won over to the side of the English, and thereafter left as a trusted guard on the frontier of the British Eastern empire. Burnes, who had intimate knowledge of the Amir's character and standing in the country, had written to Mr. Macnaghten in June 1838:—

> 'It remains to be considered why we cannot act with Dost Mohammad. He is a man of undoubted ability, and has at heart high opinions of the British nation, and if half you must do for others were done for him, and offers made which he could see conducive to his interests, he would abandon Russia tomorrow.'[34] Further on, he remarked that it would be the highest of all policies to make Kabul in itself as strong as we can make it and not to weaken it by individual power.'

Shah Shuja ul-Mulk

Shah Shuja was a man of mediocre ability and little political sagacity. His one great desire was to be surrounded by pomp and splendour. He it was 'whose popularity throughout Afghanistan had been proved to Lord Auckland by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities'[35] and whose unpopularity had become known to Lord Ellenborough a few days after his arrival in India, and which he expressed on March 15, 1842, when addressing the Commander-in Chief[36] 'that we

32 Capt. Trench, *The Russo-Indian Question*, p. 11.

33 From MacNeil, British envoy at Teheran, to Government, 'reviewing the state of affairs in Afghanistan, dated 22nd January, 1837. *Book* No 10, Letter No. 22—*Punjab Records*.

34 *Parliamentary Papers*, 1859(2).XXV, 251; *Camb. Hist. of India*, vol V, p. 496. 35 Simla Manifesto. 36 Sir J. Nicoll.

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have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit atrocities and violate their faith, and that we withdraw from Afghanstan not from any deficiency of means to maintain our position, but because we are satisfied that the king we have set up, has not, *as we were erroneously led to imagine, the support of the nation over which he has been placed.*"[37]

The Shah's repeated failures in his attempts to regain the Kabul throne had degraded him in the eyes of the public. And when he was restored with the assistance of a foreign power, he could hardly hope to win back the affection and loyalty of the Afghan people.[38] The proud Afghans considered him as much a state prisoner of the English in Kabul, in spite of his restoration, as the ex-Amir had been in India.

Again, soon after re-installing him on his ancestral throne, Sir William Macnaghten's[39] faith in him was shaken. He wrote to the Governor-General in India proposing that 'if it really should be proved that His Majesty was acting treacherously against the British Government, Dost Mohammad Khan should be restored to his country.'[40]

These facts go to prove that the expedition was a project of wanton aggression and was wholly impolitic, unnecessary and uncalled for. It not only plunged the British Government into an endless succession of ruinous and unprofitable warfare, but also raised against them a bitter spirit of animosity in the Afghan nation which had hitherto shown every disposition to develop amicable relations with them.

Military side of the Question

In the Simla Manifesto Lord Auckland had made a promise of withdrawal as soon as 'the Shah should be secured in power.' Had that

37 Papers relating to the military operations in Afghanistan, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty, 1843, p. 167.

38 'Shah Shuja himself believed that there would be little chance of his becoming popular in Afghanistan if he returned to the country openly and avowedly supported not by his own troops, but by the 'Farangies.' Even the less overt assistance of an infidel Government was likely to cast discredit upon the undertaking in the eyes of true believers'. *Kaye's War*, p. 371, f. n.

Masson too, on page viii (Preface to vol. I of *Narrative of Various Journeys to Baloochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab*, 1842) remarks thus:—

"A single British officer or even a regiment or two might not have injured it (Shah's reputation). The Envoy and Minister and his host ruined it. The Afghans had no objection to the match, they disliked the manner of wooing.

39 British Envoy in his court at Kabul.

40 *Lady Sale, Journal of Disasters in Afghanistan*, p. 5.

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promise been kept and the British forces quitted the country with their paraphernalia, after having re-installed the Shah, it would have in all probability, saved many a precious soul and millions of sterlings besides the loss of the British prestige and their humiliation in the eyes of the whole civilised world.

Many eminent and experienced military authorities of the status of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Wellesley, Metcalfe and Elphinstone, had prophesied an ultimate disaster and disgrace in the proposed expedition.

The Duke of Wellington had remarked, 'our difficulties would commence where our military successess ended.' Lord Wellesley regarded 'this wild expedition into a distant region of deserts, of sands and ice and snow,' as an act of infatuation. Sir Charles Metcalfe had declared in 1835-36 that 'the surest way to bring Russia down upon ourselves is for us to cross the Indus and meddle with the countries beyond it.' M. Elphinstone,[41] in a private letter, had written thus:—

> 'You will guess what I think of affairs in Kabul, and how we have assumed the protection of the state as much as if it were one of the subsidiary allies in India. ..... If you succeed, I fear, you will weaken the position against Russia. The Afghans were neutral and would have received your aid against invaders with gratitude. They will now be disaffected and glad to join any invader to drive you out.'[42]

The Court of Directors, too, were originally opposed to the war. In a dispatch from the Court to the Governor-General, dated September 20, 1837, the following passage appears which shows that they were opposed to an aggressive attitude:—

> 'With respect to the states west of the Indus, you have informally observed the proper course, which is to have no political connection with any state in those regions, to take no part in their quarrels but to maintain, so far as possible, a friendly connection with them'.[43]

The fatal step was taken by the British authorities in defiance of these timely warnings and the consequences, which had been foretold, were proved to the world. 'Two years of strong efforts failed to reduce the country, and the 'Army of Occupation' was, at last, overwhelmed by the universal and irresistable outbreak of an indignant and bigoted population,

41 Who had been the head of a mission to Kabul 30 years earlier.
42 Ms. Correspondence.—*Kaye's War*, pp. 363-64, f. n.
43 *Ibid.*, p. 364, f.n.

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and the restored monarch perished, as soon as he lost the protection of foreign bayonets, at the hands of the outraged countrymen.'[44]

Again, the Tripartite Treaty did not at all enjoin upon the British Government to send their soldiers across the Indus. They were in no way bound to dispatch an army into the heart of Afghanistan. Even on the occasion of his conference with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Mr. Macnaghten had assured him in reply to a question that *if the allies met with reverses the British Government would advance to their aid and not till then.* But soon after the conclusion of the treaty the whole aspect of the proposed expedition was changed. A grand British army entered Afghanistan and occupied it.

Looking at the question from the strategic point of view, one is constrained to say that the expedition was rash, dangerous and unstatesmanlike. The route of the army through Sindh was excessively circuitous, immensely long, full of difficulties and disadvantageous equally as to supplies and to communication.

Moral side of the Question

The moral side of the question is most gloomy. Was Amir Dost Mohammad Khan bound by any ties whatsoever 'to be a useful ally to the British Government and to aid her in her,' so-called, 'just and necessary measures of national defence,'[45] when his reciprocal demand for the restoration of Peshwar had been trampled under foot? Were the British Government justified in sending up an army against the innocent Afghan populace which had given no offence to them, and whose sense of hospitality had been admitted as early as 1832[46] by Burnes? Was not the Amir forced by the unshaking and stubborn attitude of Lord Auckland with regard to the question of Peshawar to accept the offers of help of the other neighbouring powers? Was he not forced to assume an attitude of hostility against the English, which, at the heart of hearts, he was unwilling to assume? And lastly, was he not, as an independent

44 'The Evacuation of Afghanistan', published in February, 1843 issue of the *Blackwood's Magazine.*

45 Simla Manifesto.

46 While on his Central-Asian Travel, Burnes wrote to his mother from Kabul on May 10, 1832: 'My journey has been more prosperous than my most sanguine expectations could have anticipated; and instead of jealousy and suspicion we have hitherto been caressed and feasted by the chiefs of the country' *Lives of Indian Officers,'* vol.. II, pp. 231 ff.

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monarch, free to deal with his neighbouring states in a manner best suited to his own purpose and position?

The Amir was an independent monarch and the British Government had no just and legitimate claim upon him for a preferential treatment. He had every right to stand on footings of equality with the Anglo-Indian Government in the political arena; he could make reciprocal demands favourable to his state in return for the concessions expected of him by them. The political alliances between independent neighbouring states are made on footings of equality. And if the same were impossible, the two should have parted like friend. But that was not to be. The siege of Herat by the Persian troops and the failure of the 'Commercial' Mission were hopelessly mixed up in the Simla Manifesto. No amount of diplomatic writing or the gift of the gab could legitimately hold the Amir of Kabul responsible for the one or the other. He began his correspondence with Russia after the seige had been laid, and the British mission failed because of the announcement of Lord Auckland that the British Government could not persuade Ranjit Singh to cede Peshawar to the Amir.

It had been announced in the Manifesto that the war had been declared 'with the concurrence of the Supreme Council of India'. But the fact is that, when the document reached Calcutta, the members in the council chamber made a respectful remonstrance against the consummation of a measure of such grave importance without an opportunity being afforded to the councillors of recording their opinions upon it'.

Conclusion

Kaye in his *Lives of Indian Officers*, appears to have made a vain attempt to acquit Lord Auckland of his responsibility for the expedition against Afghanistan. On page 249 of the second volume of the book, he says that 'Lord Auckland was not an ambitious man quiet, sensible, inclined towards peace, he would not have given himself up to the allurements of a greater game if he had not been stimulated, past all hope of resistance, by the evil advisers, who were continually pouring into his ears alarming stories of deep-rooted plots and subtle intrigues emanating from the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, and of the widespread corruption that was to be wrought by the Russian gold' This defence is tantamount to casting from Lord Auckland all responsibility and throwing it upon those under him.

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But from Lord Auckland's own letter given below it appears that he had assumed the full responsibility for this war:—

> 'Of the justice of the course about to be pursued, there can't exist a reasonable doubt. We owe it to our own safety to assist the lawful sovereign of Afghanistan in the recovery of his throne ..... I have, in adopting this step, been deeply sensible of the responsibility which it places upon me ..... and look with confidence for your ..... support to the plans on which in the exercise of the discretion confided to me, I have resolved'.

And even if Kaye's version be taken as correct when he says that Lord Auckland under evil counsel moved the compass from peace to war, it does not absolve him from the stigma of bad statesmanship, want of diplomatic skill and political acumen.

The main object of the expedition i.e. the providing of relief to Herat and of placing on the throne of Kabul a useful ally who should be subservient to the British interests in matters of national defence and foreign relations, were both falsified by the after-events. Herat was the only place in Afghanistan which kept the penetrating arms of the British at bay even after the restoration of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk to the throne, its Wazir, Yar Mohammad Khan, not only expelling the British Envoy but also opening correspondence with the enemies of the English. Shah Shuja, who was expected to be their faithful and useful ally, failed to hold his own the moment the protective hand of the English was withdrawn by the necessity of the time. The same government which had rejoiced at the surrender of Dost Mohammad Khan, was forced by the trend of after-events to release him and escort him back with honour to his country so that he might bring the affairs in Afghanistan under control.

'The triple alliance against a ruler whose proferred friendship we have deliberately spurred, whose right to govern his Afghan subjects had been proved to every incident of his wise, just, and vigorous rule, marked the first stage in a course of high-handed robbery, pursued under pretexts transparently false. The full extent of our folly and wrong-doing was destined for some time to be veiled from English eyes by the Afghan Blue Book of 1839, which confused white with black by the process of skilful garbling afterwards exposed by the eloquent historians of the Afghan war'.[47]

KH. A. HAYE

47 Trotter, *Lord Auckland*, p. 59.

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Date of the reign of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Naṣrat Shāh, Sulṭān of Bangāla.

The different views which have been held in respect of the date of the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-dīn Naṣrat Shāh of Bengal have been presented in the following note by Mr. B. De in his English translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*:

"The *Riyaz* (p. 138) says that he reigned for sixteen years, but according to some thirteen years, or less than that. Firishtah gives him sixteen years from 927 to 943 A. H. Col. Briggs (vol. IV, pp. 350-352) says he reigned from 930 A. H., (1523 A.D.) to 945 A.H., (1538 A.D.) *i.e.*, for about fifteen years, but he says also that he had a reign of eighteen years. According to Stewart (pp. 114-117) he reigned for thirteen years, 1521 A.D. to 1533-34 A.D. Lane-Poole (p. 308) gives him fourteen years from 925 A.H. (1518 A.D.), to 939 A.H., (1532 A.D.), and the *Cambridge History of India* (p. 696) fifteen years from 1518 to 1533 A.D."[1]

To these views may also be added what can be gathered from the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* in the same connection. This work gives no date for his reign. But it states that he 'ruled for a period of eleven years.'[2] It further states that his father Sulṭān Alāu-d-dīn passed away in the year 929 A.H.,[3] and, on his death, the *amīrs* and the great men of the time raised Naṣīb Shāh from amongst his eighteen sons to the chieftainship (*i.e.*, to be the Sulṭān).[4] This work thus suggests the same year as the first year of Sulṭān Naṣrat Shāh's reign, and, assigning 11 years to his reign, we would get 940 A.H., as the year in which it terminated.

From the foregoing account, the value of the testimonies of Muhammadan histories for fixing the chronology of his reign is apparent. It remains now to be seen what light is available in this respect from the epigraphic and the numismatic data which we at present possess. The latest inscription of the reign of his father, Sulṭān Alāu-d-dīn Husain Shāh is dated, the 15th Shaban, 925 A. H., or the 12th August, 1519 A.D.[5] Also, the coinage of

1 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, transl., B. De, (Bib. Ind.) Calcutta, 1939, p. 445, n. 1.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 445. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 443. 4 *Ibid.*, p. 444.
5 Blochmann, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. XLII, pt. 1, 1873, p. 295.

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Naṣrat Shāh, with the exception of the series which he had minted when his father was alive, commenced from the same year.[6] It can, therefore, be assumed with little doubt that Sulṭān Alāu-d-dīn died and was succeeded by Sulṭān Naṣrat Shah to the throne in the year 925 A. H. The controversy raised by Muhammadan historians as regards this date may therefore be solved accordingly.

On the other hand, the latest inscription which refers to his reign is dated in the year 938 A. H.[7] The coinage of his son and successor, Sulṭān Alāu-d-dīn Firoz Shāh, starts also from the same year.[8] With equal certainty, therefore, it can be assumed that Sulṭān Naṣrat Shāh met his end in the same year and not in 943 A. H., as the *Riyāz* states.[9] The evidence cited above thus concludes the dispute which arose in connection with the chronology of the reign of Sulṭān Naṣrat Shāh. He is thus seen to have ruled for thirteen years extending from the year 925 to 938 A. H.

The consideration of the chronology of his reign will be incomplete without looking into the accuracy of the date of another event of his reign as quoted in Muhammadan histories. This is the date of his sending an envoy to Bahādur Shāh of Gujrat in Mandū to court his alliance. The *Tabaqāt* refers to the event as follows:

"In the year 939 A. H. he sent by the hand of the eunuch Malik Marjān to Sulṭān Bahādur Gujrati, fine and beautiful presents, in order to secure relation, attachment and friendship. Malik Marjan waited on Sulṭān Bahādur in the fort of Mandū and was honoured by the gift of a special robe of honour."[10]

But if Naṣrat Shāh's rule terminated in 938 A. H., as shown above, how could he send this envoy in the following year? The accuracy of this date thus requires a test.

The *Riyāz* gives the following account of his relations with the Mughal emperors of Delhi:

"And when Emperor Babar, killing Sulṭān Ibrahim, son of Sulṭan Sikandar Lodi, conquered the great empire of Hindustan, many of the

6 *J.A.S.C.*, vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 176-178.

7 Blochmann, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. XLIII, pt. I, 1874, p. 308. H. E. Stapleton, *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, p. 153.

8 S. Sharafuddin, *Varendra Research Society's Monographs*, No. 6, pp. 10 and ff.

9 *Riyāzu-s-salatin*, transl. (Bib. Ind.) p. 136 ... to *Ins. ...* pp. 144-145

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Afghān Omra escaping, sought refuge with Naṣrat Shāh. And at length, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, brother of Sulṭān Ibrāhim, being expelled from his kingdom, came to Bengal. Naṣrat Shāh showing kindness to every one, bestowed on all pargannahs and villages, in accordance with their respective rank and condition, and consistently with the resources of his kingdom. And he married Sulṭān Ibrāhim's daughter, who had also come to Bengal. And planning the subjugation of the Mughal forces, he despatched Quṭb Khān with a large force towards the environs of Bharaich. And the latter fought several battles with the Mughals, and for a period the contending forces were bivouacked there, fighting. But Khān Zamān, son-in-law of emperor Babar, had conquered up to Jaunpur, and when in the year 930 A. H., emperor Babar came to Jaunpur, and brought to his subjugation all its limits and environs, and planned to march to Bengal and to bring it also under his domination, Naṣrat Shāh, foreseeing the result, sent valuable presents and gifts in charge of wise envoys, and offered submission. Emperor Babar, in view of the exigencies of the times, made peace with Naṣrat Shāh, and retired. When emperor Babar died on the 5th of the month of Jamādiu-l-Awal 937 A. H., and emperor Humāyun ascended the throne of Delhi, it was rumoured that the emperor of Delhi was planning the conquest of Bengal. Consequently, Naṣrat Shāh in the year 939 A. H., in view of demonstrating his sincerity and friendship, sent rare presents in charge of Malik Marjān, the eunuch, to Sulṭān Bahādur Gujrāti.[11]

From the above account it will be evident, his relations with the Mughal emperors of Delhi could never be cordial in view of the shelter and protection he afforded to his enemies. Indeed, the kingdom of Bengal thus remained a source of renewed troubles to the newly founded Mughal empire. So, in the year 935 A. H., Babar sent an army, under the command of his relation Askary to invade Bengal.[12] He would not have made peace with the Sulṭān of Bengal in the year 936 A. H., had he not been deterred from pursuing his purpose by the approach of the rainy season and the affairs of the upper provinces which required his immediate presence.[13] Regarding the dangers which threatened the Mughal empire immediately on the death of

11 *Loc. cit.*, pp. 134-136.

12 Stewart, *The History of Bengal*, pp. 74 and ff.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

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Babar in 937 A. H., Stewart gives the following account in his *History of Bengal*:

"The death of Baber served as a signal to rouse the Afghan chiefs ones more to attempt the recovery of the empires. Mahmood, the son of Diria Lohani, took possession of Behar; and Mahmood the brother of the emperor Ibrahim, having collected an army of his countrymen, first defeated Joneid Burlass the Moghul governor of Joanpore, and then took possession of that province. Sultan Bahadur of Guzerat also advanced at the head of a large force, and took the fort of Mindu, whence he detached an army of 40,000 men to plunder the country, even of the vicinity of Agra, then the residence of the new emperor Homayon.

Although the king of Bengal, from the pusillanimity of his disposition, did not take an active part in these scenes, yet, regardless of his treaty with the emperor Baber, he gave every assistance in his power to Mahmood."[14]

The very first act of Humayun on his accession to the throne was therefore the suppression of the Afghan revolt, as referred to in his Memoirs, and this happened in the year 938 A. H.[15] It was this success of the Mughals which apparently alarmed the Sulṭān of Bengal, and, he sought therefore an alliance with Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh of Gujrāt against their common enemy. The pressing need of the alliance thus arose in the year 938 A. H. and not in the following year after Humayun's campaign in Eastern India had already terminated and the emperor had returned to his capital. In these circumstances, it seems very likely that Nizāmuddīn Ahmad made a mistake in citing the date of the deputation of the embassy in the *Tabaqāt*, as quoted above, and the *Riyāz* apparently copied this from there. The *Tabaqāt* refers also to an occasion when Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh arrived at Mandu in the year 938 A. H.[16], and on one of these occasions evidently Malik Marjān must have met him there in the same year, and received his honours. There remains therefore adequate justification for correcting the date as suggested above, which will regularise its consistency with the date of Naṣrat Shāh's death, which can now be conclusively ascertained from the date as shown above.

N. B. Sanyal

14 Stewart, *The History of Bengal*, p. 75.
15 Stewart, *Private memoirs of the Emperor Humayun*. Calcutta, 1904 p. 3.
16 *Loc. cit.*, p. 356.

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MISCELLANY

Rājyavardhana and Śaśāṅka

Rājyavardhana, son of Prabhākaravardhana of the Puṣyabhuti dynasty, occupied the throne of Thanesar in *c.* 605-606 A.D. Śaśāṅka began his political career in Rhotasgarh, in the Arrah District in Bihar[1] as a feudatory of the Maukharis of the United Provinces. Subsequently he asserted his supremacy over Rāḍhā (West Bengal) and Orissa, and transferred his capital to Karṇasuvarṇa, in the Murshidabad District, Bengal.

The modern scholars draw the history of the conflict between Rājyavardhana and Śaśāṅka in the following way.—'The Mālava king Devagupta in alliance with Śaśāṅka, king of Bengal, attacked Kanauj. The Maukhari Grahavarman lost his life in the battle at the hand of the Mālava king. His queen Rājyaśrī, who was the sister of Rājyavardhana and Harṣavardhana, was thrown into the prison of Kanauj by the victors. After this achievement the allied forces marched against Thanesar. Rājyavardhana also advanced with an army to oppose the invaders. The Mālava king was severely worsted in the battle. Then Śaśāṅka invited Rājyavardhana in his camp under false promise and treacherously murdered him. During this period of trouble Rājyaśrī was released by a noble named Gupta.' Three important conclusions viz., that the Mālava king was Devagupta, that the Mālava king made a confederacy with Śaśāṅka, and that Rājyavardhana was murdered by Śaśāṅka, drawn above, may be re-examined.

The *Harṣa-carita* mentions that Rājyavardhana severely worsted the king of Mālava. Harṣa's inscriptions mention that Rājyavardhana defeated Devagupta and other kings. It is argued that this establishes the identity of the Mālava king with Devagupta. Rājyavardhana is known to have won a victory over the Hūṇas also. Some may, however, be inclined to identify Devagupta with the chief of the Hūṇas. It is known from *Kādambarī* that Mālava, referred to by Bāṇa, includes Ujjain and Vidiśā.[2] The lexicographers of the 11th and 12th centuries viz., Yāda-

1 Author's *'Śaśāṅka,' I.H.Q.*, XIII, 456.
2 Author's *'Mālava' in the 6th and 7th centuries, JBORS.*, XIX, 400.

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vaprakāśa, Hemacandra etc. relate that Avanti is identical with Mālava.[3] Ujjain was situated in Avanti. The Paramāras, who ruled their kingdom from their capitals Ujjain and Dhārā, are mentioned in the epigraphic and literary sources as the kings of Mālava. Thus in the pre-Moslem period Avanti formed an intergal part of Mālava.[4] The Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa issued an inscription from Ujjain in 595 A.D. His son Buddharāja, who came to the throne before 602 A.D., was in possession of Ānandapura (Wadnagar in Gujarat) and Vidiśā (Bhilsa) in 609 A.D. This will establish that the Kalacuris were in possession of Mālava from A.D. 595 to A.D. 609. So Buddharāja, who was a contemporary of Rājyavardhana, is undoubtedly the Mālava king, referred to in the *Harṣa-carita*. It may be made clear that the Mālava king, who was an adversary of Rājyavardhana, is not identical with the Mālava king, the father of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, as has been mentioned in the *Harṣa-carita*. The Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa conquered Mālava from Mahāsenagupta, the father of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta. This appears to have forced the Mālava princes to take shelter under the Puṣyabhutis of Thanesar.[5]

The conclusion that the Mālava king in alliance with Śaśāṅka invaded the kingdoms of the Maukharis and the Puṣyabhutis is based on a passage of *Harṣa-carita*, translated by Cowell in the following way.— "Then he (Harṣa) heard from the attendants the full story of his sister's misfortunes from her imprisonment onward, and how she was sent away from Kānyakubja, from her confinement there during the Gauḍa trouble through the action of a noble named Gupta."[6] The translation implies that the Gauḍa king was responsible for the imprisonment of Rājyaśrī. As the *Harṣa-carita* elsewhere mentions that the Mālava king after killing Grahavarman threw Rājyaśrī into the prison it will follow, as has been

3 Author's *'Yādavaprakāśa on the Ancient Geography of India, I.H.Q.*, XIX, 222.

4 The commentator of the Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, who flourished in the 14th century, states that Mālava means only Eastern Mālava, and the Western Mālava is called Avanti. It is stated in the same passage that Vaṅga is situated to the east of the Lauhitya. The geographical knowledge of this commentator was inaccurate.

5 For detailed discussion—cf. *Mālava in the 6th and 7th centuries, op. cit.*

6 *Harṣa-carita*, p. 250-51; *Gauḍa-sambhrama Guptito*. A single Ms. reads *'ambhrame*.

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argued by some scholars, that the combined assault of the Gauḍa and the Mālava kings brought about the downfall of the Maukharis. But Cowell's translation of the passage in question is erroneous. The Sanskrit text makes it clear that the Gauḍa trouble was only connected with the release of Rājyaśrī. So these two kings are to be assumed to have launched campaign against Northern India independently.

The name of the Gauḍa king, who assassinated Rājyavardhana, has not been mentioned in any Ms. of *Harṣa-carita* except in one copy. Bühler refers to a Ms. of *Harṣa-carita,* which mentions the name of the Gauḍa king as Narendragupta. Hiuen Tsang, who visited Kanauj more than thirty years after the death of Rājyavardhana, states that Rājyavardhana, king of Kanauj, lost his life at the hand of Śaśāṅka, king of of Karṇasuvarṇa. Śaṅkara, who wrote a commentary on the *Harṣa-carita* in the 14th century A.D., also mentions that Rājyavardhana was murdered by Śaśāṅka. All these have led some scholars to conclude that the Gauḍa king, referred to in *Harṣa-carita,* is none other than Śaśāṅka, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang and Śaṅkara. But this conclusion cannot be taken as an established fact. First of all the data on which this conclusion is based, do not invariably lead to it. It may be explained by an analogous case. The Caulukya Kumārapāla of Gujarat sent an army against Mallikārjuna, king of Koṅkana, who lost his life in the battle. The *Vasantavilāsa-Mahākāvya* and Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* state that on this occasion Mallikārjuna was killed by Kumārapāla's general Āmbaḍa. The *Pṛthvirāja-vijaya* mentions, on the other hand, that the Cāhamāna prince Someśvara, who lived in the court of Gujarat in the early part of his life, fought with Mallikārjuna on behalf of Kumārapāla, and killed him. It will be wrong to conclude from this that Āmbaḍa and Someśvara are identical. Similarly the Gauḍa king referred to by *Harṣa-carita* may not have been identical with Śaśāṅka. Now it may be discussed whether there is any evidence direct or indirect which goes against the assertion that Rājyavardhana was killed by Śaśāṅka.

Harṣa-carita relates that Harṣavardhana at the receipt of the news of Rājyavardhana's death at the hand of the Gauḍa king became very much dejected. He made a promise that[7] "unless in a limited number of days

7 Cowell, p. 187.

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he clears this earth of Gauḍas, and makes it redound with fetters on the feet of all kings who are excited to insolence by the elasticity of their bows, then will I hurl myself, like a moth, into an oil-fed flame." Harṣavardhana ascended the throne in 606 A.D. after the death of Rājyavardhana. It is known from Hiuen Tsang that Harṣa even could not wrest Magadha from Śaśāṅka. The Gañjām plate of Śaśāṅka proves that he maintained his imperial power at least up to 619 A.D. If the Gauḍa king, referred to in the *Harṣa-carita,* is identified with Śaśāṅka it will follow that Harṣa could not crush down the power of Śaśāṅka at least within fourteen years after the date when he made the above promise. *Harṣa-carita* was written by Bāṇa for the glorification of Harṣavardhana. If Harṣa had made a promise and could not act up to it it is inexplicable why Bāṇa has mentioned that in his book. It will rather follow that Harṣa succeeded in killing the Gauḍa king within a very short time after 606 A.D., and credited himself by fulfilling his promise. If this analysis is accepted as correct it will be wrong to identify the Gauḍa king with Śaśāṅka. Curiously enough this finds support in the *Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa.* It mentions that Soma (Śaśāṅka) was a Brahman (*Dvija*). Ra (Rājyavardhana), the brother of Ha (Harṣavardhana), was killed by a man of a low caste (*nagna jāti*). Thus according to this source Rājyavardhana did not lose his life at the hand of Śaśāṅka. Bühler's Ms., referred to above, will also lend support to this conclusion.

Though there is good ground for thinking that Rājyavardhana's assassin was not Śaśāṅka it cannot be denied that at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit there was a rumour implicating Śaśāṅka with that incident. As late as in the 14th century the commentator Śaṅkara appears to have come in contact with some literature recording identical rumour. Thus if the whole discussion, made above, is summarised it follows that according to Hiuen Tsang and Śaṅkara Rājyavardhana's assassin was Śaśāṅka. But the evidence of *Harṣa-carita, Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa,* and Bühler's Ms. of *Harṣa-carita* stand in the way of accepting it.

The king of Gauḍa might have been Narendragupta as has been mentioned in Bühler'c Ms. of *Harṣa-carita.* Or he might have been Devagupta. Harṣa's inscriptions state that "By—whom (Rājyavardhana), plying his whip in battle the king Devagupta and others,—who resembled wicked horses—all subdued with averted faces. After uprooting

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his enemies, after conquering the earth, and doing what was agreeable to his subjects, in consequence of his adherence to his promise, gave up his life in the mansion of his foe." The Apsad inscription mentions that Dāmodaragupta after defeating the Maukharis lost his life in the battle. The Arthuna inscription states that the Paramāra Cacca of Vāgaḍa gave up his life in the battle after shattering the power of the king of Karṇāṭa. So it may be assumed that Rājyavardhana after defeating Devagupta lost his life in the latter's camp. If this proves to be true Devagupta is to be taken to have assumed another name Narendragupta. The Gauḍa country was under the sway of the imperial Guptas at least up to the middle of the 6th century. After this the history of this country for more than half a century is not known to us. It may be that the descendants of the imperial Guptas ruled there till the early years of the 7th century, and Devagupta was one of them. Śaśāṅka probably occupied Gauḍa by putting an end to the rule of the Guptas.

The main object of the above discussion is to show that the conclusion arrived at by the modern scholars that Rājyavardhana was killed by Śaśāṅka is not based on unimpeachable authority. It is probable that Śaśāṅka in alliance with the king of Gauḍa, whose name is not definitely known, fought with Rājyavardhana. Rājyavardhana lost his life in the encounter. According to some he was killed by Śaśāṅka. But he was as a matter of fact killed by the king of Gauḍa, who was probably an ally of Śaśāṅka.

D. C. Ganguly

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Prabodhasiddhi of Vāmeśvaradhvaja

Prabodhasiddhi of Pāśupata Ācārya Vameśvaradhvaja is a very important work on Nyāya according to Pāśupata school of philosophy, as can be known from a quotation of it in the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* (*vide* Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, 353). No ms. of this has yet come to light. Recently I paid a visit to the Library of Messrs. Agarchand Nahta and Bhanwarlal Nahta of Bikaner. In this collection I found twenty-nine stray and disconnected leaves of *Prabodhasiddhi*. Here is a description of the Ms.

Palm-leaf. 29 folios. 12″ × 2″. 5 lines in a page. 60 syllables in a line of well written large Devanāgari script. Very old, brittle and damaged at both ends. The left hand margin of each contains some letters like मु र्थ् र्फु, ह्मा etc. Among the leaves three are numbered 172, 176 and 177; four are numbered 160—164; two are numbered 158 and 159. From this it would be clear that the work, which is a commentary on some text, is an extensive one. There are references to Kīrti, Sūtra, Bhāṣya and Ṭīkā. Kīrti may be Dharma-kīrti. Sūtra may be Nyāya-sūtra with which the text is concerned. Bhāṣya, Vārtika and Ṭīkā may be the Nyāyabhāṣya, Vārtika and Ṭīkā. The author is known to have written another work named *Nyāya-kusumāñjali*. I am giving here some extracts from the ms. which will give scholars interested in the history of the Nyāya philosophy an idea of this important work of which nothing is so far known.

Fol. 1a: ननु यदि विषयवेदनं न ज्ञानस्य वेदनं तदा ज्ञानमविदितं कथं ज्ञातोऽयमर्थ इति ज्ञानविशिष्टार्थ इति ज्ञानविशिष्टोऽर्थ इति व्यवहारः। न ह्यगृहीतविशेषणा विशिष्टबुद्धिरुत्पद्यत इत्युक्तं कीर्तिना। तदुत्थाप्य परिहरति। तदवित्ताविति। ज्ञानस्यावित्तावित्यर्थः। तद्विशिष्टार्थव्यवहारो ज्ञानविशिष्टोऽर्थ इति व्यवहार इत्यर्थः॥

b: विषयिधर्मसमा जातिः कीर्तिना प्रयुज्यमाना कीर्तिरकीर्तिमातनोतीत्याह। स यमिति॥

Fol. 3: टीकाकृता सूत्रद्वयं वाक्छलार्थतया व्याख्यातम्। परमार्थतस्तु तया विवक्षया उपलब्धिसमादिकमपि छलं स्वात्मनि तदतद्रूपविवक्षया प्रत्यवतिष्ठते तद...मित्याशयवान्परिहरति शब्दान्तरनिमित्तकल्पनाद्वारेणेत्यादिना संक्षेप इत्यन्तेन॥

Fol. 5a: सिद्धस्यसाध्यत्वानुपपत्तेस्ततो जिज्ञासितधर्मविशिष्टतया। आश्रयत्वं शब्दस्य नान्यथेत्यतिरेकपक्षे आश्रयासिद्धिः। यदा त्वव्यतिरिक्तं नित्यत्वं तदा तत्र संदेहानुपपत्तेरसंदिग्धे च वर्तमानस्य हेतोः संदेहकालात्ययप्रयुक्तस्य कालात्ययापदेशो

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दूषणमिति। यदि च शब्दरूपानतिरिक्तमेव नित्यत्वं तदाकाशादेः सपक्षाद्विपक्षाच्च घट्टादेः शब्दत्वस्य व्यावृत्तत्वेनासाधारण्यमिति प्रसज्यत इति विवेचनीयम्। ननु यदि धर्मो भिन्नो धर्मिणस्तदा भिन्नत्वाविशेषात् कस्यचित् धर्मो न सर्वस्येति हृदि निधाय शङ्कते। तथापीति। कस्यचित् धर्मः कस्यचिदेव प्रमाणतः प्रतीयते न सर्वस्येति लोकव्यवस्थितिरित्याशयवान्परिहरति। यथादर्शनमिति।

Fol. 5b: आस्तां तावत्तत्समवेतस्य धर्मस्य स्वभावतो धर्मधर्मिभावोऽन्यसमवेतस्यापि धर्मस्य कस्यचिदन्यदीयताव्यवहार इति दर्शयत्यत एवेति। आत्मसमवेतस्य ज्ञानेच्छादेर्घटज्ञानं घटेच्छेत्यादिव्यवहारो घट्टीयतया लोकव्यवस्थितः स्वभावादेवेति नियम्यते।

Fol. 6: नन्वेवं सति भाष्यादिकमसंगतमेव किमित्यत आह। एवमेवेति। भाष्यादेरपि तात्पर्यमिति। भाष्यादिकमनेनैव प्रकारेण बोद्धव्यं नासंगतमित्यर्थः। ननु यदि भाष्यादिकमन्यथा बोद्धव्यं तर्ह्युत्तरार्थः कथमन्यथा कर्तव्य इत्यत आहोदाहरणेति। नन्विदमेवोदाहरणं कार्यसमये किं न कल्प्यते। तथा च नोक्ततात्पर्यसिद्धिरत आह। अत एवाव्याप्तिभीत इति। यथा श्रुतेनोपपत्तिरुक्तैव। असिद्धत्वानैकान्तिकत्वयोरजात्युत्तरत्वं प्रतिषेधसमर्थत्वादनात्मव्याप्तेश्चातो यथोक्तप्रकारेण जात्युत्तरत्वे सर्वत्र युक्तेस्तुल्यत्वादेतदुदाहरणवदुदाहरणान्तरमपि संगृह्यते नत्विदमेवेति रहस्यम्। एतदेव भाष्यवार्तिकटीकासंवादेन द्रढयति। प्रयत्नानन्तरमित्यादिनो सदाभासा चेयमित्यन्तेन। अत्र वस्तुविवेचनपरमुत्तरसूत्रम्। तत्र प्रयत्नशब्दो यदि मुख्योऽभ्युपगम्यते तदा न संभवति। न हि प्रयत्नानन्तरं शब्दो निष्पद्यते। किं तर्हि। संयोगविभागानुसारम्। ततस्तावेवाभिप्रेतौ सूत्रकारस्य प्रयत्नशब्देनेति मन्यमानः प्रयत्नशब्दमुपचारस्तत्कार्यप्र० ॥

उभयोरमुक्तत्वावधारणात्पक्षीव्यवस्थितिरिति कुतश्चतुर्थादिपक्षसंभव इत्याशयवानाशङ्कते। तथापीति। एकदेशिमतेन परिहाशमाह। अत्र कश्चिदिति। यद्यप्येवं तथापि केचित्सभ्या मृदुमात्रप्रज्ञाः। केचिच्च मध्यमात्रप्रज्ञाः। केचिदधिकमात्रप्रज्ञाः। कठोराकठोरहृदयाश्च। अतो नियमो नास्ति तृतीयपक्ष एवामुक्तत्वमुद्भावयति। येऽधिकप्रज्ञा निष्ठुरहृदयास्ते झटित्युभयोरमुक्तत्वमुद्भाव्य कथां विच्छेदयन्ति। ये तु मृदुमध्यप्रज्ञा न ते झटित्युभयोरमुक्तत्वमवगच्छन्ति। अनवगच्छन्तश्च कथं तथोद्भाव्य कथाविच्छेदका भविष्यन्ति। अमुक्तत्वमधिच्छन्तोऽपि वा मृदुहृदयत्वान्न परस्य तथात्वं झटिति वक्तुमुत्सहन्त इति न चतुर्थादिपक्षानवकाशरहस्यम्। तदेतदेकदेशिमतं निराकरोति। तदशिष्यमिति। यच्च ज्ञानसभ्या ज्ञानवन्तो वा नाज्ञा अथ ज्ञानवन्तोऽपि तत्त्वं न वदन्ति तदपि न युक्तम्। ज्ञानवता यथार्थवादित्वस्य लोकशास्त्रसिद्धत्वादन्यथाकुर्वाणस्य विकुर्वाणस्य वा लोकगर्हितत्वेनप्रसङ्गादित्यर्थः। नन्वेवं सति तृतीयपक्ष एवोभयोरमुक्तत्वावधारणात् पूर्वोक्तपूर्वपक्षो न समाहित इति मन्वानः शङ्कते। कथं तर्हीति। परिहरति। अवसरेति। एतदेव विशदयति तथा हीत्यादिना संक्षेप इत्यन्तेन। एवमनियमेन त्रिचतुःपञ्चषट्पक्षीपर्यन्तनियमेन व्यवस्थिते चतुर्थादिपक्षप्रतिपादकसूत्राणामवतारपुरःसरमुत्तरार्थं व्याचष्टे चतुर्थं पक्षमाहेत्यादिना इत्यर्थ इतीत्यन्तेन ॥ इति परमनैष्ठिकभगवत्पाशुपताचार्यश्रीवामेश्वरध्वजविरचिते प्रबोधसिद्धिनाम्नि न्यायपरिशिष्टनिबन्धे प्रथममाह्निकं समाप्तम् ॥ शुभं भवतु गच्छसमुदाययोः ॥

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA

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Glimpses of the Republic of Vaiśālī

That the ancient state of Vaiśālī of the Licchavis was a republic (*gaṇādhīna* 'subject to a *gaṇa* or people') is well-known. The following lines aim at giving some glimpses of it as can be found in a Buddhist Sanskrit work entitled *Cīvaravastu* in the *Gilgit Manuscripts* (ed. Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, vol. III part ii, pp. 1-148).

The king of Magadha had five hundred ministers, Khaṇḍa being at the head of them. The prime minister was a very able and good man and his administration was just and right. As could be expected his colleagues became jealous of him and conspired against him giving false reports to the king. Khaṇḍa came to know about it and decided to leave the country. But where was he to go? He began to think over it. He could not go to Śrāvastī, or to Vārāṇasī, or to Rājagṛha, or to Campā, for, each of them was under the control of a king (*rājādhīna* 'subject to a king') and consequently under the control of one man (*ekādhīna*); and thus the same distress or disadvantage was in all the above places. This led him to think that he might go to Vaiśālī as it was *gaṇādhīna* 'subject to a people' or republic. Here "what was desired by ten was not desired by twenty" (यद् दशानामभिप्रेतं तद् विंशतीनां नाभिप्रेतम् । p. 5).

Thinking thus Khaṇḍa sent a messenger to the Licchavis of Vaiśālī asking their permission to live there under their protection. They gave a favourable reply and Khaṇḍa went there with his kinsmen.

Vaiśālī was then divided into three divisions (lit. multitudes, *skandhas*), lower, middle and upper, and the people lived there according to their respective ranks. There were different rules or agreements (*kriyākāras*) in the republic of Vaiśālī. One of them was with regard to the marriage of girls. A girl born in the upper division was to be given to one in the same division or to one in the middle division; one born in the middle division to one in the same division or to one in the upper division, but never to one in the lower division; but a girl of the lower division might be given to one belonging to any one of the three divisions.

There were other two special rules for marriage. The first of them was to this effect: No girl was to be given in marriage to an outsider,

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i.e. who was not an inhabitant of Vaiśālī.[1] And the second was this that the most excellent girl (*strīratna* 'the jewel of women') of Vaiśālī was enjoyable by the people of Vaiśālī; in other words, she was to become a *gaṇikā*, one that belongs to a *gaṇa* or people, i.e. a courtezan.[2]

As Khaṇḍa was a person of a higher rank he was allowed to live in the upper division of Vaiśālī. Now when the Licchavis met in their Assembly, Khaṇḍa, though invited, would not first attend it. And when he was asked as to why he did not do so, his reply was that his distress was due to such an Assembly and so he avoided it. However, being pressed by the Licchavis he began to attend the meetings of the Assembly, but refrained from offering his opinion owing to the thought that by doing so he might bring about his own distress. But afterwards he was prevailed upon by the Gaṇa of Vaiśālī and would express his individual opinion.

Now, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī before Khaṇḍa's joining the Assembly and taking part in its deliberations used to write letters to the persons concerned in a rough language, but after it there came a marked change and the Gaṇa would write letters courteously and politely. And it was known to all that this was due to the influence of Khaṇḍa.

In this connection it may be noted that in writing official letters in the republic such forms as the following was to be followed: "The Gaṇa headed by such and such commands." This is fully corroborated by the

1 "कन्याया अनिर्वाहः नान्यत्र दीयत इति"। p. 7.
"नान्यत्र कन्या दातव्या ऋते वैशालकान"। p. 11.

2 This rule appears to have made many a family in Vaiśālī unhappy depriving the fathers of their freedom in choosing bridegrooms as they liked for their daughters. The case of Āmrapālī is an instance. Her father, Mahānāma, being unable to choose her husband was one day seen by her much dejected and lost in thought. She approached and enquired. The father divulged the truth and said 'So, my daughter, my desire is not fulfilled.'
'Father, are you dependent in this matter?'
'My child, the Gaṇa has already made the rule that the most excellent girl is enjoyable by the Gaṇa, and you are one of that type. I am therefore helpless.'
The text may be quoted here (p. 17):
"स करे कपोलं दत्त्वा चिन्तापरो व्यवस्थितः। आम्रपाल्या दृष्टः पृष्टश्च। तात किं असि चिन्तापरः। पुत्रि त्वं स्त्रीरत्नमिति कृत्वा गणभोग्या संवृत्ता। मम मनोरथो न परिपूर्णः। तात किं त्वं पराधीनः। पुत्रि गणेन पूर्वमेव क्रियाकारः कृतः स्त्रीरत्नं गणभोग्यमिति। त्वं च स्त्रीरत्नमतोऽहं अनीश्वर इति"।

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following lines found in the *Cīvaravastu* (p. 10) referred to above: "खण्डप्रमुखो गण आज्ञापयति," "सिंहप्रमुखो गण आज्ञापयति ।"

Khaṇḍa had two sons, Gopa and Siṃha, the former being elder. Gopa used to do misdeeds and on account of it Licchavis were annoyed and became indignant. Therefore Khaṇḍa advised him to go to a far off place and to live there carrying on a business, so that there might not be any displeasure to the Gaṇa of Vaiśālī. The son followed the advice of the father.

As the time went on the Senāpati[3] ('General', 'Prime minister') of Vaiśālī breathed his last and the Gaṇa elected Khaṇḍa for that post. After some time he also died. Now the Gaṇa of Vaiśālī assembled in a meeting to select one whom they could place in that position (कं वयं सेनापतिं स्थापयामः). Some said in the Assembly "As the Gaṇa was well-protected by Khaṇḍa, let us place his son in that position." Others said that of the two sons of Khaṇḍa, Gopa and Siṃha, the former could not be selected as he was rough malicious and mischievous and as such he would certainly divide the Gaṇa. His younger brother Siṃha could, however, be chosen as he was compassionate and one with whom to live together was pleasant. Besides, he was quite capable of gratifying the mind of the Gaṇa. Therefore, if it was agreeable to it they could have him as their Senāpati. As all agreed upon the proposal the members of the republic went in a body to Siṃha and requested him to accept the office. But Siṃha said that as Gopa was his elder brother they could kindly make him their Senāpati. To this they gave the following reply: "Siṃha, the office of the Senāpati has not come down from your family in regular succession. He is the Senāpati whoever is liked by the Gaṇa. If you do not accept it we shall offer it to anyone we like." Siṃha thought it would not be good if that office would go away from the house he belonged to. Thinking thus Siṃha accepted the offer and was made with great honour the Senāpati of the republic.

3 In such cases the word *Senāpati* which generally means a General or a Commander-in-Chief, appears to have been used to mean an officer of a such higher rank. Jayaswal takes it (*Hindu Polity*, 1924, p. 185) in the sense of chief minister. Raychaudhuri (*Political History of Ancient India*, 4th edition, Calcutta University 1938, p. 227) writes, "In the last days of Maurya Empire we find the Senāpati over-shadowing king and transferring to himself the allegiance of troops."

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When Gopa, the elder brother of Simha, came to know of the fact that Simha was made the Senāpati he got angry and said to Simha, "Is it right, brother, for you to become the Senāpati when I, your elder brother, am still living?" Simha told him clearly all what had happened. Yet, Gopa was enraged and resolved to leave Vaiśālī, as he felt himself insulted by not being offered that office. He went back to Rājagṛha with the permission of its king Bimbisāra and became his prime minister.

Simha had two daughters the younger one being endowed with all auspicious characteristics. At that time king Bimbisāra lost his chief queen and Gopa seeing the sad condition of the king with his permission proposed in a letter to his brother, Simha, to give his younger daughter to Bimbisāra in marriage. The latter sent the following reply: "Brother, though you are now away, you are to be consulted. What you propose is authoritative. But, as you know, according to the rule of the Gaṇa no girl born in Vaiśālī can be married to one who is not an inhabitant of it." Yet by a secret way Simha's first daughter, instead of the second, was married to Bimbisāra, and on account of it there was a terrible fight between the Licchavis and Bimbisāra, in which the former had to suffer a defeat. And they resolved to make a requital of enmity (*vaira-niryātana*) even to the sons of the king. This resolution was got recorded and kept in a box duly sealed.[4]

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

4 "पत्तलेख्यं कृत्वा पेडायां प्रक्षिप्य जतुमुद्रातपं स्थापयत"। p. 3.

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Origin of the name 'Bengal'

I have read with great interest Mr. N. N. Das Gupta's paper on the subject in *IHQ.*, XXII, pp. 277-85. I find that S. H. Hodivala's brilliant note on Bangāla in *Num. Sup.*, No. XXXIV (*JASB.*), pp. 199-212 and a short paper published by me in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, V, pp. 34-42,[1] have escaped Mr. Das Gupta's notice. While drawing his attention to the points raised in this connection by Hodivala and myself, I may make very briefly a few observations on Mr. Das Gupta's views.

Since the emergence of modern Hindī from its Apabhraṃśa stage, the speakers of Hindī and other languages have been calling our country *Vaṅgāl* (without the final *a* in the last consonant), which has been transliterated by the English in their script as *Bengal*. The Muslims first came to India when the final *a* in the last consonant of Sanskritic words in North Indian dialects was pronounced. The earlier pronunciation of *Vaṅgāl*, as is wellknown, was *Vaṅgāla* which was naturally transliterated by the Muslims in their script as *Bangālah* (pronouncing *Bangāla*). This Muslim pronunciation of the name is directly responsible for the name *Bāṅgālā* now applied by us to our country. The first *ā* in the name is comparable to the first *ā* in the Bengali words like *hāzār* (thousand) derived from Persian *hazār*. The change of *a* into *ā* is due to the fact that *a* pronounced outside Bengal resembles *ā* as pronounced by us. The last *ā* in the name is again comparable to the Bengali words like *khānā* derived from *khānah*.[2]

1 Earlier I wrote on the identification of Vaṅgāladeśa, separated in the Tirumalai inscription from Rāḍha and Daṇḍabhukti and apparently located in the south-eastern region of Bengal, in *IC.*, VII, pp. 407-08.

2 Cf. also *bandah* (slave)=Bengali *bāndā*, *Khajānah* (revenue)=Bengali *Khājānā*, etc., etc. Just as the word originally spelt and pronounced in Bengali as *Khājānā* has now been modified to *Khājnā* (with a change of the central *ā*), the earlier Bengali spelling and pronunciation of the name *Bāṅgālā* have now given way to the modified form *Bāṅglā* (sometimes softened into *Bāṅlā*). That, during Muslim rule, the Bengalis adopted the Muslim pronunciation of the name of their country is probably indicated by the fact that today Bengalis of any education speak, in their common speech, usually of the English *India*, *Bengal* and *Calcutta* in preference respectively to the names *Bhāratavarṣa*, *Bāṅgālā* (or *Bāṅglā* or *Bāṅlā*) and *Kalikātā*. Cf. also the popularity of the Anglicised surnames

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The people of our country is known elsewhere in India as *Vaṅgālī* which the English transliterated as *Bengali* or *Bengalee* and which we have made *Bāṅgālī* in our language. This word is also influenced by such Muslim words as *Kābulī*."[3] It is interesting to note in this connection that, according to a general ethnological principle, the specific tribe name often originates among neighbouring tribes and is eventually adopted by the tribe to which it is applied.

The Candra kings of south-east Bengal are sometimes represented as lords of Candradvīpa (Bāklā Candradvīp in the Buckergunge region) and sometimes as lords of Vaṅgāladeśa. This fact points to the location of Vaṅgāla in its original geographical sense in the coastal region of southern Bengal. The connotation of the name began to expand with the expansion of the Candra kingdom of Vaṅgāla over the whole of south-east Bengal. The name was popularised in the sense first of east Bengal, and then in that of the whole of Bengal by the Muslims. The location of Vaṅgāla proper in the Buckergunge region near the Bay of Bengal that is to say, in the southern part of the ancient Vaṅga country, seems to be supported by Abul Fazl's identification of Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla and his derivation of the latter name from *Vanga* + *āl* (Sanskrit *āli*) on the grounds that "its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province, which were called *āl*." Although the derivation may be wrong and *Vaṅgāla* may have sprung from *Vaṅga* + the Prakrit suffix *āla* in the sense of a notable district belonging to Vaṅga (cf. *Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. 33), the interesting mention of the earthen mounds no doubt meant for keeping off the encroachment of sea-water from the corn-fields refers to a condition prevailing in the Buckergunge region of the coastal area of Bengal even to-day. The name Vaṅgāla can hardly be expected in any record earlier than the rise of the Candras in the tenth century A.D. The Goharwa inscription of Karṇa (1041-71 A.D.) only proves its importance in the eleventh century. Of course Lakṣmaṇa-rāja, who is represented in the Goharwa inscription as having defeated

Banerji, Mukherji, etc. The introduction of a large number of Persian and Arabic words in our vocabulary during Muslim rule has further to be compared with our later adoption of numerous English words during the British period.

3 Cf. the *yā-yi nisbati* in Persian and the corresponding Arabic suffix to form relatives (*Higher Persian Grammar* by D. C. Phillott, pp. 400 and 714-17).

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the Vaṅgāla country or people, ruled about the middle of the tenth century when the Candra power had already been established in Vaṅgāla.[4]

The most important point in regard to the supposed existence of a "city of Bengala" is that no such name of a great city is found in any of the numerous works of medieval Bengali literature. This question, usually ignored, has to be answered. I attempted to answer this question in my paper in 1945, but later found that Hodivala had reached the same conclusion as mine 25 years earlier by ransacking the available Muslim sources. In an attempt to locate the Mughal mint-town of Baṅgāla in Akbar's empire, he says, "Briefly there would appear to be *fairly good* grounds for thinking that *Baṅgāla* was not the real or fixed name of any town or city, but an alternative or honorific designation by which the *capital of the province at the time being* was known. Thus the *Baṅgāla* of Mun'im Khān's time *might have been* Gaur, and it is *not impossible* that during the subsequent twenty years the name was sometimes applied to Tānda. The *Bangāla* of the coins of the 39th and following years of Akbar's reign would, by parity of reasoning, be Akbarnagar" (*loc. cit.*, pp. 211).[5] I concluded my paper in the following words: "It must however be admitted that some authorities locate the city of Bengala near about Chittagong. It seems to me that originally the chief city of East Bengal was known to the Portuguese as the city of Bengala; but after the Portuguese port in the

4 Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* (IV, 67-68) representing the ancient hero Raghu fighting with the Hūṇas on the banks of the Oxus only proves that there was a Hūṇa settlement in the Oxus Valley in the days of Kālidāsa. It is impossible to believe that the Hūṇas settled on the Oxus much earlier than the age of Kālidāsa who flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., not to speak of the hoary antiquity to which Raghu is assigned by the poet. Then again the claim of the Kalacuri *praśastikāra* hardly proves that Lakṣmaṇarāja's victory over Vaṅgāla is a historical event and not an exaggeration, vain boasts being quite common in the writings of the early-medieval court-poets; cf. the exploits of the Candella kings Yaśovarman and Dhaṅga in the Khajuraho inscriptions, *El.*, I, pp. 122 ff. (verse 23), 145 (verse 46). Lakṣmaṇarāja could not have ruled in the ninth century as his daughter's son Taila II ruled in 973-97 A.D.

5 It will be seen that the mint-town of Bangālah, whence Akbar's coins were issued, could not have been situated in the Chittagong region (where the 'city of Bengala' is usually located), as that area lay outside the Mughal empire during Akbar's rule.

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Chittagong region had become the most flourishing centre of trade in Bengal, they began to call it the city of Bengala. This again seems to have been done when Sonārgāon passed out of the picture due to the transference of the provincial capital first to Rājmahal and then to Dacca. The fact that the Portuguese sailors came by sea and first reached this flourishing port after days of hardship in the sea may also have emphasized its importance to them as the city *par excellence* of the country of Bengal" (*loc. cit.*, p. 42). Cf. also Moreland's views quoted in my paper. While Hodivala speaks of Akbar's age, I have referred to a later period.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

Kuntala and Aśmaka

In *IHQ.*, XXII, pp. 309 15, Prof. V. V. Mirashi has commented on my views regarding the identification of the Kuntala and Aśmaka countries (cf. *IHQ.*, XXII, p. 233 ff.). He has made an attempt to prove that "Kuntala in ancient times did not comprise only the North Kanara District and parts of Mysore, Belgaon and Dharwar Districts as stated by Dr. Sircar but that it extended much further to the north so as to include what we now call the Southern Maratha Country." Unfortunately Prof. Mirashi does not notice that practically the same view has been expressed by many other writers including Fleet (*Bom. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 431) and myself (*Suc. Sāt.*, p. 215). The fact is that where other scholars would locate, according to evidence, the Kuntala country proper in the heart of the Kanarese area and distinguish between that land and the later empire (often called Kuntala) of the imperial Kuntala or Karṇāta, i.e. Kanarese, dynasties, Prof. Mirashi would place Kuntala proper in the Maratha country and would not distinguish the essential Kuntala country from the zigantic Kuntala or Kanarese empire of later times. If, in the days of Warren Hastings, the Benares District formed a part of Bengal, would it justify any one to identify Bengal with Benares or to locate Bengal in Benares? The name Vaṅgāla (Bengal) originally indicated a small district in southern Bengal; it was later used to signify the whole country comprising such ancient lands as Vaṅga, Samataṭa, Suhma, Tāmralipti, Gauḍa and Puṇḍravardhana. Can we locate the ancient Vaṅgāla country in any part of later Vaṅgāla (Bengal) ?

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Most of the questions raised by Prof. Mirashi in this connection were already answered by me in *Suc. Sāt.* (*loc. cit.*, footnotes) which appears to have escaped his notice. It will be clear from the following quotations from my work:

"Cf. a record of A.D. 1077.....: 'In the centre of that middle world is the golden mountain to the south of which is the Bhārata land in which, like the curls of the lady earth, shines the Kuntala country to which an ornament.....is Banavāsī.' Some other inscriptions also prove that Kuntala was the district round Banavāsī."[1]

"Kuntala and Karṇāṭa are used as synonymous in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* by Bilhaṇa.[2] Vikramāditya VI has been called both *Kuntalendu* (or, *Kuntalendra*) and *Karṇāṭendu*.....Vaijayantī, identified with Banavāsī, has been described as a *tilaka* (that is to say, the capital) of the Karṇāṭa country in the Birur grant of Viṣṇuvarman.....Karṇāṭa therefore signified the same territory as Kuntala or the country of which Kuntala formed a part.....The separate mention of Kuntala, Karṇāṭa, Banavāsī, Māhiṣaka (cf. Mahiṣaviṣaya in a Kadamba grant), etc., in some of the traditional lists may possibly refer to the fact that these names originally signified separate geographical units abutting on one another. Sometimes however one of them may have formed the part of another; cf. the case of Tamralipti which is mentioned in literature as an independent state, as a part of Suhma and also as a part of Vaṅga; also the case of Taxila (Raychaudhuri, *Indian Antiquities*, p. 186 f.). With the rise of Kanarese powers like the Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the name Karṇāṭa (sometimes also the name Kuntala) extended over a large part of western and southern Deccan. In the *Kaliṅgattuparaṇi*, the *Cālukyas* have been described as *Kuntalar*, 'lords of Kuntala' (literally, 'the Kuntalas,' indicating their Kanarese origin).....An inscription of Harihara II, dated in Śaka

1 The tradition about Banavasi having been the capital of the Kuntala country was remembered even after the foundation of the Kuntala-Karṇāṭa (Kanarese) empire. For a tenth century record mentioning the Kuntala king residing at *Vanavāsa*, indicating the city as well as "exile", see *El.*, XXII. 132.

2 Note that the Cālukyas of Badami (*El.*, IV, 88, etc.) and Kalyani (ib, V, 16, etc.) were regarded as kings of Kuntala, while the Cālukya army was called the Karṇāṭaka *bala* (*IA.*, XI. 112, etc.). In Cola records like the Kanyakumari inscription (*El.*, XVIII, 27; vv. 69, 76), the Cālukya enemies of Rājendra I are mentioned as lords of the Kuntalas, while those of Virarājendra as kings of the Karṇāṭa family.

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1307,.....says that Vijayanagara (modern Hampi) belonged to the Kuntala-viṣaya of the Karṇāṭa country."

Only a few words are required now to be added to the above. Vidarbha and Vatsagulma are separately mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra*. Prof. Mirashi thinks that the former included the latter and that they are separately mentioned according to the Māṭhara-Kauṇḍinya *nyāya*. It will be clear from the extract quoted from my book that I would partially apply the same *nyāya* to explain the separate mention of Banavāsī and Kuntala in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* on which Prof. Mirashi has taken his stand. The *Daśakumāracarita* and the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* were composed in an age when the name Kuntala was often applied to the Kanarese empire of the Cālukyas and their successors (see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 216, note 1), which usually included the Kuntala country proper. The separate mention of Banavāsī indicating Kuntala proper and Kuntala signifying the Kanarese empire in these works has nothing to do with Prof. Mirashi's location of the Kuntala country proper in the South Maratha country.

Prof. Mirashi suggests that the root *śās* or *praśās* means governing when the object is a territory and chastising when the object is a living being and that, in the passage *śrīmat-kuntalānāṃ praśāstā*, the word *praśāsitā* means a ruler because the object of *praśās* in this case is not a living being but the Kuntala country. Unfortunately, he does not notice that, even if the distinction in the meaning of the verb is conceded, there is absolutely no reason why *Kuntala* (like *Surāṣṭra* in verse 11 of the Junagarh inscription of Skandagupta) should be taken in the sense of the Kuntala country (an inanimate object) and not in that of the Kuntala people. What can then be the objection if *śrīmat-kuntalānāṃ praśāsitā* is translated "the chastiser of the illustrious Kuntala people"?

I do not subscribe to Prof. Mirashi's identification of the Ṛṣika country with Khandesh. Sylvain Lévi rightly regards Ṛṣika as the southernmost country in Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's empire to the south of Aśmaka. According to the reading of the Hathigumpha inscription preferred by Barua and myself, the city of Ṛṣikanagara (capital of the Ṛṣika country) was situated on the Kṛṣṇabenā (Krishna). As regards his identification of Aśmaka with the Ahmadabad and Bhir Districts, it is certainly impossible for us to understand why the Nander-Nizamabad region lying immediately to the east of that area could not be included. I consider Raychaudhuri's identification of Paudanya, the Aśmaka capital, with Bodhan

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in the Nizamabad District as exceptionally satisfactory and suggest that even the Ahmadabad-Bhir area or parts of it may have been included in the Aśmaka country and in the dominions of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma. Nothing more can be said in the present state of our knowledge. We have to wait for further evidence. As however the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma are known to have ruled over northern Hyderabad, which is the ancient Aśmaka country proper according to many writers including Raychaudhuri and myself, they may have been regarded as the lords of Aśmaka. As regards the inclusion of Vatsagulma in Vidarbha, suggested by writers like Rājaśekhara (about the beginning of the tenth centutry), I may draw Prof. Mirashi's attention to what has been said about Tāmralipti and Takṣaśilā in the extract quoted from my book. Vatsagulma, like those localities, appears to have been sometimes a separate state, sometimes a part of Aśmaka and sometimes a part of Vidarbha. It is well-known that Mūlaka or the land round Paithan in the Aurangabad District was sometimes a separate country but was often regarded as a part of Aśmaka. For the expansion of Aśmaka, the readers may be referred to Raychaudhuri's *Pol. Hist.* cited in my paper in *IHQ.*, XXII, pp. 233-35.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that I am diffident in reading political history from fictions like the *Daśakumāracarita* exactly in the lines of Prof. Mirashi.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

Jagadvijayacchandas of Kavīndrācārya

I have edited the above work in the Ganga Oriental Series of the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner in 1945 and the work was reviewed in the *I.H.Q.* vol. X, XII, No. 4 by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti. In that review it has been suggested that there is not sufficient evidence for ascribing the work to Kavīndrācārya. I have published the photo of the damaged portion where the name appears and I have fully described the position. After the work was printed I came to know of the existence of manuscript of the work in the Punjab University Library and my friend Vishvabandhu Shastri the learned Director of the V. V. Research Institute, Lahore, was kind enough to supply me with the portion in that Ms., and it reads:

श्रीगणेशं भवानीशौ नत्वा टीका विरच्यते ।
कृतस्य श्रीकवीन्द्रेण छन्दसो जगतो जिते (तः ?) ॥

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It would be noticed that the second half is quite different from the Bikaner Ms., where the reading is (as reconstructed by me): कवीन्द्राचार्य रचिते जगद्विजयदण्डके ।

From the photo published by me of this Ms., it would be found that the third Pāda ends as रचिते; then if the name Kavīndra is to fit into the third Pāda, it can be only in the beginning. Thus, my guess is now supported by the Punjab University Library Ms., as regards the name of the author; and so far as I know, the passage as reconstructed by me seems to be the best.

C. KUNHAN RAJA

The Malaya Mountain

From evidences supplied by the Purāṇas, the Malaya mountain is located at the extreme south end of the Western Ghats. I have given some evidences to show that this location cannot be correct. My difficulty has arisen on account of these conflicting evidences, and what I have said is that *in solving this difficulty*, the Purāṇas give no help. If the Purāṇas did not give any help in *locating* the Malaya as the southern end of the Western Ghats, there would have been no problem. Now the question is only whether the points raised by me deserve consideration. This is all that I have to say about the note of Dr. Sircar, relating to this point.

C. KUNHAN RAJA

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REVIEWS

NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS—vol. I: Shivaji & His Line (1600-1707). By G. S. Sardesai. Phoenix Publications, Bombay 1946.

The name of Govind Sakharam Sardesai needs no introduction to serious students of Indian history. Long ago Sir Jadunath Sarkar described him as "the greatest living historian of Maharashtra." He is best known as the author of *Marathi Riyasat* and the editor of *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*. No serious study of any aspect of Maratha history is possible without a thorough acquaintance with the works of this veteran historian. It was, however, difficult for scholars and general readers ignorant of the Marathi language to use his writings, for his more important works were composed in his mother tongue. He has now undertaken to tell the story of the Maratha people in English in three volumes. This is the first attempt to present a fresh and full treatment of Maratha history in English, embodying the results of the latest researches. This is not a mere translation of *Marathi Riyasat;* it presents the substance of the author's forty years' study of this great subject. In the calm evening of his life, undisturbed by tragic personal sorrows, Sardesai is recording probably his final verdict on his own people. To that verdict, coloured doubtless by patriotism but moulded by austere and pitiless historical criticism, all Indians and all students of Indian history must listen with respect.

The volume under review begins with a discussion on the origin of the Marathas and ends with the death of Aurangzeb and the triumph of Tarabai. Shivaji's career is described in detail in nine chapters covering more than 200 pages. Although the discerning reader will discover traces of the author's erudition and command over original sources almost at every step, the ordinary reader will simply go through a simple and pleasant narrative of absorbing interest. The master builder has successfully concealed his stones and given us a finished and well-proportioned structure.

A. C. BANERJEE

SHAH ALAM II AND HIS COURT—By Antoine Louis Henri Polier. Edited by Dr. Pratul C. Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. Calcutta, 1947.

Antoine Louis Henri Polier came of a French family settled in Switzerland. He entered the service of the East India Company and

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arrived in India in 1758. He served at Masulipatam and in Bihar and was transferred to Calcutta in 1761. Here he worked as an engineer in the construction of Fort William. As a Field-Engineer he took part in the siege of Chunar in 1764. His promotion was stopped by an order of the Court of Directors, passed in 1766, that "no foreign officer is to be promoted to a higher rank than Major." On the recommendation of the Bengal Government he entered the service of Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh, and was placed in charge of superintending and directing the fortifications and buildings which the ambitious Nawab had planned. At the request of the Nawab, Polier assisted Najaf Khan in the siege of the Agra fort against the Jats. As the Bengal Government censured and recalled him for this he resigned in 1775. Then he accepted service with Emperor Shah Alam II; but soon afterwards he became the engineer and architect of the Nawab of Oudh. In 1782 he was re-admitted into the Company's service. He returned to Europe in 1789 and was murdered by robbers in 1795. He was one of the earliest members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and contributed several papers to its proceedings in 1787 and 1788.

In the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Dr. P. C. Gupta discovered an English manuscript on the Delhi Empire and Court during the reign of Shah Alam II. His researches revealed that the work was written by Polier. He has now published it for the benefit of students of modern Indian history. He has contributed an excellent Introduction as well as very useful Notes and Appendices. This publication will certainly increase Dr. Gupta's reputation for careful scholarship and neat presentation of his subject.

Polier takes up the story of Shah Alam from his departure from Allahabad in 1771 and brings it down to the expedition of Abdul Ahad Khan against the Sikhs in 1779. He gives an account of the "King's domains and revenues" and court, and concludes with an excellent sketch of the "King's person" and "character and conduct in private life" and a description of the royal family. The chief value of the narrative lies in the fact that it is the work of a contemporary who had direct knowledge of the events he was writing about. Dr. Gupta has done well in rescuing it from oblivion.

A. C. Banerjee

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POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE: vol. X—Daulat Rao Sindhia's Affairs, 1804-1809. Edited by Nirod Bhusan Roy, M.A. Bombay, 1943.

The documents printed in this volume deal with a very complicated period of modern Indian history. The first document is dated 1st May, 1804, and the last is dated 27th July, 1809. The Editor has divided the documents into six Sections. Section 1 refers to Sindhia's offensive and defensive alliance with the British. Section 2 deals with the second stage of Sindhia's war with the British. Section 3 deals with Sindhia's union with Holkar and final peace with the British. Sections 4 and 5 deal with Sindhia's interference in Malwa and Rajputana. Section 6 deals with Sindhia's intrigues with Ranjit Singh and the tragic end of Sharza Rao Ghatge.

The Editor says, "An exposition of Sindhia's policy during 1804-1806 brings into lurid light the stages by which this untaught oriental prince outwitted the great Pro-consul Marquis Wellesley who was universally acknowledged to be one of the greatest statesmen. The narration of Sindhia's career during 1806-1809 reveals the details of Sindhia's wide-spread military operations in Rajasthan and Central India and the gradual decline of his authority and his dominions." These two phases of Daulat Rao Sindhia's career are interconnected. The treaty concluded by him with Sir George Barlow on 23rd November, 1805, reconciled him to the territorial losses imposed by the treaties of Surji Anjangaon and Burhanpur and drove him to seek fresh fields for territorial expansion in Central India and Rajputana. It is, therefore, hardly correct to say that Sindhia "outwitted" Wellesley. In 1795 Daulat Rao was the undisputed master of Mahadji's dominions; within ten years he found himself unable to maintain the integrity of his inheritance. This transformation testifies to the success of Wellesley's policy. Nor could Sindhia compensate himself in Central India and Rajputana. He brought misery enough to the Rajputs, but he could not consolidate his hold over them, although there was no British rivalry and Jaswant Rao Holkar was at first mad and then dead. Called to power in boyhood, void of military genius of the Wellesley brothers, Daulat Rao Sindhia steadily lost the position which he had inherited.

A. C. Banerjee

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EVOLUTION OF THE KHALSA: vol. II.—The Reformation. By Dr. Indubhusan Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D. Calcutta, 1947.

Recent events have brought into prominence the important place occupied by the Sikhs in our national life. Numerically they deserve no special recognition, for there are not more than five million Sikhs in this land of four hundred millions; but historically and culturally they are a distinct group with great traditions, and no political settlement or cultural reconstruction can ignore their interests. In these days of disintegration, when Afghanistan is claiming the North-West of India, it is necessary to remember that the Sikhs defeated the Afghans and occupied Peshawar just a little over a century ago. But for the military vigour and political foresight of the Sikhs the North-West might have been cut off from India and permanently joined to Afghanistan under Ahmad Shah Abdali and his successors. While politicians should take note of this great service of the Sikhs to the cause of Indian unity, students of Indian history should enquire into the sources from which the Sikhs derived, and still derive, their inspiration and strength. To that enquiry the volume under review is a contribution of enduring value.

Dr. Banerjee has been a close student of Sikh history for the last thirty years. About ten years ago he published the first volume of his *Evolution of the Khalsa*, in which he traced the history of Sikhism from its origin to the compilation of the *Adi Granth* by Guru Arjan in 1604. In the volume under review he deals with the transformation of Sikhism in the 17th century, from the execution of Guru Arjan in 1606 to the assassination of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708. The narrative is based chiefly on Sikh sources, for the Persian chronicles relating to this period contain very little information on the Sikhs. Dr. Banerjee's cautious and sober analysis of Sikh writings show clearly that they are not useless for historical purposes; at any rate, Sikhism cannot be interpreted without the assistance of the Sikhs themselves. Dr. Banerjee is a critical historian; he is, at the same time, a sympathetic student of Sikhism. Instead of dismissing the Sikhs as a troublesome and rebellious sect, he has presented them as a compact religious and social unit striving after self-realisation. He has fully explained those factors, internal as well as external, which threatened to destroy their solidarity, and he has shown how the genius of Sikhism overcame those dangers. The executions of Guru Arjan and Guru Tegh Bahadur, the shifting and apparently tor-

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tuous policy of Guru Hargobind, Guru Gobind Singh's relations with the Hill Rajas and the Mughal Government, the mystery of his assassination—all these have been put in a new form and explained as satisfactorily as the scanty sources permit. It may be confidently said that Dr. Banerjee's conclusions are not likely to be assailed till the discovery of new sources of information. He has given us an interpretation of the formative period of Sikhism which will occupy an important place in Indian historical literature.

N. K. SINHA

SHIVAJI by S. R. Sharma (Short Studies in Indian History, edited by Jagmohan Mahajan); published by the National Information and Publications Ltd., Bombay, 1947.

THE BAHMANI KINGDOM by H. K. Sherwani (Short Studies in Indian History edited by Jagmohan Mahajan); published by the National Information and Publications Ltd., Bombay, 1947.

The Booklets under review belong to a series styled "Short Studies in Indian History." According to the editorial preface, they are meant for the man-in-the-strest who is keen to know something about his heritage but has little time or inclination to read the voluminous work of historians. full of details and references to origianal sources. The attempt of the editor and the publishers of the series is no doubt laudable. The romantic career of the great śivājī, written in a fascinating style, is sure to prove pleasant reading, to an ordinary lover of history.

The books under review suffer from certain defects. In the first place, no book of this sort can be of real interest without a map showing the localities mentioned in the discussion. "Husain Gurshasp received homage of Qandhar and Kotgir, while Qutbul Mulk subdued Maram and Akalkot" is hardly full of meaning to an ordinary reader having no idea about the position of the localities. Secondly, Sanskritic words should not have been spelt according to local pronunciation so as to make them unintelligible to the readers of different parts of the country; cf. *adnyapatra* for *ājñāpatra* (*Shivaji*, pp. 13, 31, 41, 43), *Dnyanadev* for *Jñānadeva* (*ibid*, p. 12), etc. The author would have earned the gratitude of the readers if words

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and expressions like *Zeb chera*, *Sazleshkar*, *Kulah*, etc. (*The Bahmani Kingdom*, pp. 32, 38, 39) were used with a word of explanation. It is again desirable that Indian names and words should be spelt in the same way at least in different parts of the same work if not in different works of the series; cf. Yadav and Jadav (*Shivaji*, pp. 8, 11), Afaqui and Afaqī (*The Bahmani Kingdom*, pp. 31, 34, 36), Qutbul Mulk and Qutb Mulk (*ibid*, pp. 46, 47), Dakhani and Deccani (*ibid*, pp. 30, 31, 33, 34, also *Shivaji*, p. 14), etc.

There are certain statements in the booklets under review which cannot be regarded as strictly accurate. It is said that "the first organised resistance to the Muslim invaders was offered by Jaipal and Anandpal at the commencement of the eleventh century A D." (*Shivaji*, p. 8). But even leaving aside the question of the struggle of the Hindu rulers of Afghanistan against the encroachment of the Arabs, the resistance of the Śāhis against the Turkish Mussalmans of Ghazni certainly began long before the commencement of the eleventh century. According to Firishta, during the reign of Alptigin (*c*. 933-63), his general Sabuktigln led predatory excursions against Lamghan in the Śāhi territory. In 973, according to tht *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirī*, Sabuktigin helped Pirey in defeating the Hindus who had advanced to seize Ghazni. During his own reign, Sabuktigin (977-97) oftener raided the territories of Śāhi Jayapāla (*c*. 965-1002) and conquered many castles and strongholds. According to the *Kitab-i-Yaminī*, Jāyapāla, in defence of his frotier, advanced with a large army against his enemy's kingdom, but was defeated somewhere about the frontiers of the two states. Thereafter, Lamghan was repeatedly raided by the Muslim ruler. Jayapāla therefore made once again a supreme effort to attack Ghazni but was again defeated by Sabuktigin in the neighbourhood of Lamghan.

There are similar inaccuracies in the other book; cf. Sangamma (*The Bahmani Kingdom*, p. 16) for Sangama, the Vemas of Rajahmundry (*ibid*, pp. 21, 24) for the Reḍḍi chiefs of Rajahmundry, etc., etc. All these are however minor defects which the learned authors will find easy to remove in the next edition of the books under review.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XXVII, pts. 1-11

V. V. MIRASHI.—*The Kalacuri-Cedi Era.* Different views regarding the starting point of the Kalacuri-Cedi era have been discussed, and recorded dates of the era have been examined to show that it commenced on *śu. di. 1 Kārtika* (the 25th September) in A.C. 249. The epoch seems to have originated with the reign of the Ābhīra Īśvarasena who had his stronghold in Khandesh. The era was adopted by the Traikūṭakas of the Nasik district and got currency in Gujarat, Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāṣṭra, being introduced in northern India long after the downfall of the Ābhīra dynasty.

P. K. GODE.—*Studies in the History of Indian Plants—Some Notes on the History of Caṇaka (Ciffeer Arietinum)—between 500 B.C. and 1820 A.D.*).

P. R. CHIDAMBARA IYER.—*Revelations of the First Stanza of the Mahābhārata.* The fourth quarter of the first stanza of the *Mahābhārata* is suggested to have been *tato jayam udīraye* (not *udīrayet*) meaning 'I issue the work *jaya*.' *Jaya* here stands for the epic itself with 18 Parvans as the word signifies the number 18 which is associated with the epic in various ways e.g. 18 divisions (parvans) of the work, 18 divisions (akṣauhiṇī) of the belligerent army, 18 days of the duration of the Bhārata war. The word *tataḥ* in the verse is taken to have a time value pointing to the date of issue of the *Mahābhārata*. The expression *jayam udīraye* is considered to be a chronogram yielding the figure "128518 in *kaṭapayādi* notation, as the Kalisavana day of the occurrence, which gives 351 years 10 months and 18 days." This is equivalent to *tṛtīyā* of the dark fortnight (18th day) of the month of Māgha of the 352nd year of the Kaliyuga. This gives 2751 B.C. as the year in which the *Mahābhārata* received its first publicity.

H. G. NARAHARI.—*Karma and Reincarnation in the Mahābhārata.* The law of Karman in all its aspects and the principle of re-birth as propounded in the *Mahābhārata* have been discussed in the paper.

K. M. SHEMBAVNEKAR.—*The Veda-Vyāsa Myth.* The purpose of the discussion is to show that the Vedic tradition does not know of any

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division of the one original Veda into four by a person like Vyāsa or Dvaipāyana.

BUDHA PRAKASH.—*Last Days of the Gupta Empire.* The paper deals with principal events and personalities connected with the closing phase of the rule of the Imperial Guptas after Skandagupta's death (*circa* 461 A.C.) ending with the reign of the last ruler Vajrāditya in 590 A.C. when the realm of the Guptas was totally engulfed in the Puṣpabhūti dominions.

Bhāratīya Vidyā, vol. VIII, nos. 1 & 2, Jan.-February, 1947

JAGAN NATH.—*Are Skandagupta and Purugupta Identical?* The writer of the Notes argues against the identification of the two names Skandagupta and Purugupta occurring in the genealogies of the Gupta kings.

BUDHA PRAKASH.—*A Fresh Interpretation of the Words "Ṛṣṭika-Pitinika" of Aśoka's Inscriptions.* The words 'Ṛṣṭika-Pitinika' occurring in the fifth Rock Edict of Aśoka and found slightly modified in other versions of the Edict are taken to mean 'governors and collectors.'

V. M. APTE.—*The Varuṇa Hymns in the Ṛgveda.* This is the first instalment of English Translation with Annotations of all the Hymns to Varuṇa including those to Mitra and Vāruṇa as also to Indra and Varuṇa.

Brahmavidyā (Adyar Library Bulletin) vol. X, part 4

P. K. GODE.—*Vanamālimiśra, a Pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and his Works—between A.D. 1600 and 1660.* A contemporary MS. of Vanamālimiśra's *Kurukṣetrapradīpa* points to the dates mentioned above.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Kāmaprabodha, Karṇatoṣa,* and *Saḍbhāṣāmayapatra.* Three Mss. have been described in the paper.

(1) *The Kāmaprabodha* of Vyāsa Janārdana, composed under the patronage of Maharaja Anupsingh of Bikaner is a work on erotics in ten sections.

(2) *The Karṇatoṣa* or *Karṇavilāsa* is a treatise on metre written by Mudgaladeva in 1645 A.C. under the patronage of Maharaja Karṇasinghji of Bikaner.

(3) The *Ṣaḍbhāṣāmayapatra* is a one-Act drama in four varieties of

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Prakrit and two varieties of Sanskrit composed by Rūpacandra for the amusement of a minister of Sujansinghji of Bikaner.

Indian Archives, vol. I, no. 1 (January, 1947)

[The first issue of this new Quarterly of the Imperial Record Department, Government of India, contains articles dealing with subjects of archival interest] :

R. H. PHILLIMORE.—*Survey of India Records.*

S. CHAKRAVORTI.—*A Study on Palm Leaf Manuscripts.*

H. BULLOCK.—*General Ventura's Family and Travels.*

JULIUS GRANT.—*Analytical Methods in the Dating of Books and Documents.*

THOMAS M. HAMS.—*Preservation of Rare Books and Manuscripts in the Huntington Library.*

Jaina Antiquary, vol. XII, no. 2

P. K. GODE.—*'Varānna', an Article of Diet mentioned in the Varāṅgacarita of the 7th Century A.D. and its subsequent History in Sanskrit and Marathi Sources up to A.D. 1800.*

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN.—*Some Jaina Kings and Ministers.* The paper furnishes a few details about a number of Jain chiefs and ministers flourishing between the 13th and the 18th centuries.

GYANCHANDRA JAIN.—*Tāran Svāmī and his Sect.* This is a brief account of the religious order called Tāran Panth and its founder Tāran Svāmī who was a contemporary of Kabir and Nanak in the 15th century.

AJIT PRASAD.—*The Riddle of the Universe* (Jain cosmology).

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN.—*The Jain Chronology.* This instalment of the continued article on the Jain chronology of important events and personalities covers the period between 375 A.C. and 585 A.C.

SIBENDRA NATH GHOSHAL.—*The Purānic and Historical References in the Apabhraṃśa Stanzas of Hemacandra.*

Journal Of the Bihar Research Society, vol. XXXII, pts. III & IV

BRIJ NARAIN AND SRI RAM SHARMA.—*Extracts from a Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India.* Extracts published in this instalment of the paper relate to the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir and re-

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cord interesting details about various endeavours of princes and nobles including intrigues for possession of the throne.

H. R. Ghoshal.—*Price Changes and Price Control in India during the Last Two Hundred Years.*

P. Mukherji.—*Puruṣottama Gajapati.* This is a reply to the criticism of the conclusions reached by the writer and published previously in an article in support of the historicity of the tradition that Puruṣottama Gajapati, son of king Kapilendra of Orissa once marched to the south and conquered a considerable tract of region.

D. R. Mankad.—*Kaliyugarājavṛttānta and Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa.* The writer does not say anything as to whether the verses regarding the Guptas found in the *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* portion of the *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa* are wholly spurious or not but points out the fact that they represent a distinct version of a Purāṇic tradition which places Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty in the 4th century B.C. making him a contemporary of Alexander.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,
vol. IV, pt I (November, 1946)

T. M. P. Mahadevan.—*Śaivism and the Indus Civilisation.* Arguments are put forward to show that the finds in the Indus Valley viz., a figure on a seal which is regarded as a prototype of Śiva, and certain objects resembling the phallus as also ring-stones, said to be the representations of *yoni* do not adequately prove the prevalence of Śiva worship amongst the people of Mohenjodaro and Harappa

Vasudeva S. Agrawala.—*Food and Drink in Ancient India, from Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (Anna-pāna).*

P. R. Chidambara Iyer.—*So-called Geographical and Astronomical Evidence to the Mahābhārata Problem.* The writer points out flaws in the calculations of Mr. V. B. Athavale based on certain seismological and astronomical evidence found in the statements of the Mahabhārata suggesting 3016 B.C. as the year of the Bhārata war.

N. N. Ghosh.—*Do the References to the Yavana Invasion of India found in the Yugapurāṇa, Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya and the Mālavikāgnimitra form the Evidence of one Single Event?* The Yavana invasion of Pāṭaliputra through Madhyamikā, Mathurā, Pañcāla and Ayodhyā as mentioned in the *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgīsaṃhitā* and referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali took place under the

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leadership of Demetrius when the Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra had just occupied the throne of Pāṭaliputra. The Yavana war fought on the river Sindhu as described in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* was a different event which occurred when Puṣyamitra was an old man celebrating an Aśvamedha sacrifice for the second time and this was led by Menander.

DASHARATHA SHARMA.—*Mughal Revenue in 1680 A.D.*

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XV, pt. III

R. NARAYANA AIYAR.—*The Quest of Sītā.—A Critical Study of Vālmīki's Technique.*

V. RAGHAVAN.—*On a Meaning of the Word Kauśika. Kauśikastriyaḥ* mentioned by Kauṭilya along with men and women engaged in artistic pursuits signifies a class of women who specialised in the arts of music, dancing, toilette etc. These women were often employed by kings and nobles for helping them in love affairs.

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA.—*Nandivarman II Pallavamalla.* The conclusion that Nandivarman II Paliavamalla, the Pallava king of Kāñcī "ascendend the throne in A.D. 726 and ruled until A.D. 791" has been reconsidered to put the date of his accession in the year 730 A.C.

P. K. GODE.—*Some Evidence for the Date of the Aśvacikitsā of Nakula (Before A.D. 1000).*

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AYYAR.—*The Memorable Message of the Heliodorus Column at Besnagar.* The observance of *dama, tyāga* and *apramāda* which is regarded in Hindu scriptures as most essential for religious elevation is also mentioned as 'leading to immortality' in the inscription found on the pillar at Besnagar erected at the instance of the Greek ambassador Heliodorus.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Dara Shiko's Majma-ul-Bahrain.* Dara Shikho, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, had capacity to appreciate excellences in other religions. He embodied in a treatise the result of his comparative study of Hinduism and Islam. This treatise in Persian is called *Majma ul-Bahrain,* meaning the Mingling of the Two Oceans (the oceans of Hinduism and Islam). A Sanskrit version of the work entitled *Samudrasaṅgamagrantha* which points out the essential unity and even ideological similarity between the teachings of the two religions has been briefly described here.

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Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, vol. XI, no. 2

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*The Maukharis and the Later Guptas.*

N. M. CHAUDHURI.—*The Cult of Vana-Durgā, a Tree-deity.*

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.—*The Elative Case in Bhadrawāhī.*

—.—*Indian Dialects in Phonetic Transcription*

Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. X, no. 1

K. R. PISHAROTI.—*Maritime Traditions of Ancient Kerala.* Evidence of various sorts is adduced in the paper to show that the people of ancient Kerala had a rich maritime activity, with commercial relation with regions 'both in the far west and in the far east.'

Nagpur University Journal, no. 11

P. S. SASTRI.—*Origin of the Songs of the Ṛgveda.* Passages are culled from *Ṛgveda* bringing forth "the conclusion that the Vedic poet believed in the theory of inspiration, that he was instigated by some supersensuous force to write, and that he identifies himself with that power in that inspired mood."

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The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XXIII **June, 1947** **No, 2**

The Status of Brāhmaṇas in the Dharmasūtras*

Inheriting the views of the older Vedic authorities, the authors of the Dharmasūtras describe the immunities and privileges of the Brāhmaṇas with characteristic clearness and completeness. We may sum up the Brāhmaṇa's rights in these works under the following heads: —

1. *Inviolability of person and property*

According to G. (XII. 46-47) the Brāhmaṇa is altogether exempt from corporal punishment (*śārīro daṇḍaḥ*), the penalties permissible for him being prevention of repetition of the offence (*karmavyoga*), public

*ABBREVIATIONS

G. — Gautama
Vas. — Vaśiṣṭha
Āp. — Āpastamba
B. — Baudhāyana
} Reputed authors of *Dharmasūtras*

Viṣ. — Viṣṇu — Reputed author of Viṣṇusmṛti

Har. — Haradatta, commentator on *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra* (Ed. in Kashi Skt. series, No. 93, Benares, 1932). Also, commentator on *Gautama-Dharmasūtra* (Ed. in Anandasram Skt. series No 61, Poona, 1910).

Mas. — Maskari, commentator on *Gautama-Dharmasūtra* (Ed. in Bibliotheca Sanskrita, No. 50, Mysore, 1917).

S.B.E., II — *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas as taught in the Schools of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vaśiṣṭha, and Baudhāyana.* Part I Translated by George Bühler. *Sacred Books of the East series*, vol. II, Oxford, 1897.

S.B.E., XIV — Do—Do—Part II. *Sacred Books of the East series*, vol. XIV. Translated by George Bühler. Oxford, 1882.

The references in G., Vas., B., and Āp. correspond to those in *S.B.E.* vols. II and XIV., which differ in many cases from those in the published editions

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exposure (*vikhyāpana*), banishment (*vivāsana*) and branding (*aṅgakaraṇa*).[1] Similar but more explicit is the statement of B. (I. 10. 18. 17-18), who declares the Brāhmaṇa to be exempt from corporal punishment for any offence whatsoever,[2] while he prescribes various forms of branding and banishment for specified offences. In G. (VIII 12-13) we have a comprehensive list of immunities to be granted by the king to the Brāhmaṇa deeply versed in the Vedas (*bahuśruta*). These are described as follows:—(1) he shall not be subjected to corporal punishment, (2) he shall not be imprisoned, (3) he shall not be fined, (4) he shall not be exiled, (5) he shall not be reviled and (6) he shall not be given up.[3] In B. (I. 10. 18. 11-12) the Brāhmaṇa is mentioned in a list of persons against whom the king must not fight unless they are assassins (*ātatāyinaḥ*). The distinctive immunity of Brāhmaṇas is pointed out by B. in another place where he says (II. 2. 4. 1.) that a person other than a Brāhmaṇa shall suffer corporal punishment (*śārīro daṇḍaḥ*) for adultery. According to Vis. (V. 1 f.) the Brāhmaṇa is exempt from corporal punishment, the punishment prescribed for him for the greater crimes (*mahāpātaka*) being banishment together with branding of the marks of his crime

quoted above. The numbers in Śaṅkha-Likhita are those of P. V. Kane's edition (*The Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita reconstructed*, Poona, 1926).

1 *Śārīro daṇḍaḥ* is explained by Har. to mean 'mutilation of hands and feet and so forth.' This is consistent with the fact that branding is expressly permitted for a Brāhmaṇa offender in the *Dharmasūtras*. In the above passage Har. explains *Karmavyoga* to mean 'confiscation of all property, taking hostage and so forth.' If this explanation were to be accepted as correct, the statement about inviolability of the Brāhmaṇa's property would have to be modified. But it is lacking in corroboration.

2 *Abadhyo vai Brāhmaṇassarvāparādheṣu*, in the original.

3 In the original the passage is as follows:—

Ṣaḍbhiḥ parihāryo rājñā abadhyaścābandhyaścādaṇḍyaścābahiskāryaścāparivādyaścāparihāryaścetī. From the context it appears that these privileges belonged to a Brāhmaṇa who was *bahuśruta*. The latter is defined in G. (VIII. 5 f.) as one who is acquainted with the ways of the world, the Vedas and their Aṅgas (auxiliary sciences), who is skilled in disputations and in reciting legends and the Purāṇa, who looks to these alone and lives according to them, who has been sanctified by the forty sacraments, who is constantly engaged in the three occupations (prescribed for all twice-born men), or in the six occupations (prescribed specially for a Brāhmaṇa), and who is well-versed in the duties of daily life settled by the agreement (of those who know the law).

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on his body and that for other capital offences (*badhyakarmāṇi*) being banishment with person and property left intact.[1]

As regards the Brāhmaṇa's property, we find that the wealth (*dravya*) of the *Śrotriya* is expressly exempted by Vas. (XVI. 18.) from the operation of the rule declaring ten years' adverse possession to deprive the owner of his title. Again, the *Dharmasūtras* repeatedly state that while the king acquires heirless property in all other cases, the property of Brāhmaṇas belonging to this category must be distributed among learned Brāhmaṇas. (cf. G. XXVIII. 41-42, Vas. XVII. 84f, B. I. 5. 11. 15-16., Vis. XVII. 13-14). B. further seizes this occasion to declare that the king must in no circumstances take the property of a Brāhmaṇa. This rule of inviolability of the Brāhmaṇa's property is based by Vas. as well as B. upon the authority of a striking Vedic text. It says that poison itself is not the worst poison, but the property of a Brāhmaṇa is such, for poison kills one man only, the property of a Brāhmaṇa kills him who takes it together with his sons and grandsons. The immunity of the Brāhmaṇa's property is hinted at in another text (I. 10. 18. 16) of B. Here the king is permitted, after guarding it for a year, to take the property (*riktha*) of a non-Brāhmaṇa, of which the owner has disappeared.

Such being the prevailing ideas about the inviolability of the Brāhmaṇa's person and property, it follows that offences against either of them are punishable both in the law of penances and in the law of crimes with exemplary severity. For angrily threatening (*abhikruddhāvagoraṇa*) a Brāhmaṇa, for striking him (*nighāta*) and for drawing blood (*lohitadarśana*) in the act of striking, the offender according to G. (XXI 20-22) will lose heaven for one-hundred years, one thousand years, and for as many years as the particles of dust which the spilt

4 It may be remarked that a famous verse found alike in Mahā XII. 56 24; (repeated, ibid., 78, 22) and Manu IX, 321 asserts the Brāhmaṇa's immutable right of exemption from punishment by the Kṣatriya. If its attribution to Manu in the first-quoted text is based on fact, it has probably to be traced to the famous authority on Sacred Law known to the extant *Dharmasūtras* rather than the *Arthaśāstra* authority known by that name. The passage is thus translated by Bühler (*S.B.E.* vol. XXV, p. 399):—"Fire sprang from water, Kṣatriyas from Brāhmaṇas, iron from stone; the all-penetrating force of these (three) has no effect on that whence they were produced."

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blood binds together." The actual penances for these acts are mentioned by B. who says (II. 1. 1, 7.):—"He who has raised a hand (against a Brāhmaṇa) shall perform a *Kṛcchra* penance, an *Atikṛcchra* penance if he strikes, a *Kṛcchra* and a *Cāndrāyaṇa* penance if blood flows."[6] Causing pain (*rūjaskaraṇa*) to a Brāhmaṇa is included by Viṣ. XXXVIII. 1. among acts involving loss of caste, and requiring to be expiated with a penance. The severest punishments are, naturally enough, reserved for guilty connection with a Brāhmaṇa woman and for the murder of a Brāhmaṇa. According to the atrocious direction of Vas. (XXI. 1*f*.) a Śūdra, a Vaiśya, or a Kṣatriya guilty of intercourse with a Brāhmaṇa woman, is to be tied up in grass and thrown into the fire[7]. B. (II. 2. 3. 52) declares specifically that a Śūdra guilty of intercourse with an Aryan woman is to be burnt alive. In the following passage (II. 2. 4. 1.) he says more generally that non-Brahmaṇas guilty of the above offence shall suffer corporal punishment. G. (XX. 1 and XXI. 1) includes the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa (*bhrūṇahā* or *brahmahā*) in a list of persons who are to be cast off (*patitāḥ*). He also quotes (XXI. 7) a text of Manu which states that the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa belongs to the class of crimes that cannot be expiated (*anirdeśyāni*). In actual fact G. mentions (XXII. 2*f*) a list of penances of atrocious severity for the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, and he is careful to add that the same penances are prescribed for attempting the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, or of a Brāhmaṇa woman, and for destroying the embryo of a Brāhmaṇa.

5 It deserves to be remarked that Har. & Mas. quote a Smṛti text ascribed to Prajāpati to prove that a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra by similarly treating a Brāhmaṇa shall get twice, thrice, and four times the above punishment. By the same argument they conclude that a Brāhmaṇa offending against a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or a Śūdra, will get ¾th, ½, and ¼th respectively of the above punishments.

6 For the definition of *Kṛcchra* penance, see Vas. XXI. 20. The *Atikṛcchra* penance is thus defined by Vas (XXIV. 2):—"Let him eat as much as he can take at one (mouthful, and follow the rules given) above for a Kṛcchra." In a later passage (XXVII. 21) Vas. describes the Candrāyaṇa penance as follows:—"Let him add daily one mouthful (to his food) during the bright (half of the month), let him diminish it (daily by one mouthful) during the dark (half) and let him fast on the new-moon day." The text of B (II 1.1. 7) quoted above is repeated with a slight change in Viṣ LIV 30.

7 It is but fair to remark that Vas. XXI 4-5 prescribes the same dreadful punishment for a Vaiśya offending against a Kṣatriya female, and for a Śūdra offending against a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya woman.

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In another place (XVII. 11.) G. declares that even food looked at by the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa (*bhrūṇahā*) is forbidden food[8]. According to B. (I. 10. 18. 19.) a Kṣatriya or a man of another caste who murders a Brāhmaṇa is to be punished with death and confiscation of all his property. In another context (II. 1. 1. 2*f*) B. lays down a number of penances for the murder of a learned Brāhmaṇa, and he declares categorically that a person murdering a Brāhmaṇa unintentionally may be purified, but there is no expiation for wilfully (*matipūrvam*) murdering a Brāhmaṇa. According to Āp. (1.9.24. 6*f*) an *abiśasta* ('accursed') person has to suffer twelve years' penance of severe austerities in the forests, this term being applied to the slayer of a man of the first two *varṇas* who has studied the Veda or has been initiated for the Soma sacrifice, the slayer of a man belonging merely to the Brāhmaṇa caste and so forth. The twelve years' penance is to be continued until the last breath if the offender has slain a *Śrotriya* who has finished the ceremonies of a Soma sacrifice. Such a man, says Āp. cannot be purified in this life, but is purified after death. In another passage (I. 9.25. 11-12) Āp. declares that the penance for a man of any *varṇa* other than the first, for slaying a man of the first *varṇa* is to seek death in battle, or else to throw himself into the fire after cutting off his bodily parts and presenting them as a burnt-offering. Turning to the punishments for offences against the Brāhmaṇa's property, we find Vas. (I. 20) ranking theft of a Brāhmaṇa's gold among the great crimes (*mahāpātaka*)[9]. B. II. 1.2.3 includes theft of a Brāhmaṇa's property (*brahmasva*) in the list of acts causing loss of caste (*patanīyāni*). In Viṣ. (XXXV. 1.) stealing the gold of a Brāhmaṇa is included among the *mahāpātakas*. Viṣ. also says (XXXVI. 3) that robbing the land of a Brāhmaṇa and a deposit—explained by the commentator to mean a deposit other than gold belonging to a Brāhmaṇa—is equivalent to stealing a Brāhmaṇa's gold.

While such are the punishments attending the murder of a Brāhmaṇa and the theft of his wealth, very substantial rewards are promised for

8 It may be remarked that in a later passage (XXIV. 6-12) G. prescribes penances of a much lighter character for the murder of a Brāhmaṇa.

9 We may remark that G. (XXI. 1.) includes the thief among those who become outcasts. This is taken by Har. to mean specifically 'one who steals the gold of a Brāhmaṇa.' But Mas. takes the term more generally to mean 'one who steals gold.'

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saving a Brāhmaṇa's life and property. From the general rule imposing impurity upon the relatives of a dead man, G. (XIV 9) expressly excludes those who are slain for the sake of Brāhmaṇas. According to Viṣ. (III. 45) heaven is the reward of those who are killed for protection of a Brāhmaṇa. Lastly, according to the expressive simile of Āp. (II. 10.26.2) a king who is slain in attempting to recover the property of Brāhmaṇas performs a sacrifice where his body takes the place of the sacrificial post and at which an unlimited fee is given.

II. Immunity from censure

According to G. (XXI. 17-18) accusing (*abhiśaṃsana*) a Brāhmaṇa of a crime entails sin equal to that of the accused and the sin is doubled if the accused is innocent. Viṣ. (V 31) makes it a penal offence to revile a person versed in the three Vedas. Among the householder's duties Viṣ. reckons (LXXI. 83) that he must avoid reviling (*parivāda*) a Brāhmaṇa.

III. Immunity from taxation as well as support from State

Vas. XIX. 23 and Āp. II. 10.26.10 include the Brāhmaṇa among persons who are exempt from taxation. According to Viṣ. III. 26-27 Brāhmaṇas should not be taxed, for they pay taxes to the king in the shape of their pious acts (*dharmakaradāya*). G. (X. 9) includes the *Śrotriyas* who are Brāhmaṇas among persons who are to be supported by the king, while Viṣ. (III. 79-80) states in more general terms that no Brāhmaṇa or any other person engaged in pious acts shall be allowed by the king to suffer from hunger in his kiṅgdom. We have a concrete instance of the king's obligation to maintain a needy Brāhmaṇa in G. (XVIII. 30-31). Here we are told that the Brāhmaṇa student, who has taken by force articles needed for specified purposes from Śūdras and other irreligious persons, shall confess his guilt when brought before the king, who shall maintain him thereafter if he is a man of learning and character.

IV. Special personal and proprietory rights

Again and again in the *Dharmasūtras* the penances and punishments for offences are fixed on a graduated scale so that the lightest penalties are suffered by the Brāhmaṇas and the severest by the Śūdras. Over

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and above. these discriminatory provisions of the law in his favour, the Brāhmaṇa is entitled to certain specified proprietory rights. According to the text of G. (XVIII. 24) quoted above, a Brāhmaṇa may collect by force from a Śūdra articles needed for certain purposes. Other persons who may be similarly despoiled by the Brāhmaṇa comprise, according to G., a non-Śūdra who is rich in small cattle but negligent of his religious duties, the owner of a hundred cows who does not kindle the sacred fire, and the owner of a thousand cows who does not drink Soma. Evidently, it was thought that the Śūdra as an irreligious person *par excellence*, and others who neglected to perform religious duties proportionate to their means forfeited to some extent their right to property in favour of Brāhmaṇas engaged in the performances of such duties. Doubtless on the same principle Āp. (I. 2.7 20-21) permits a Vedic student to use the wealth of a Śūdra for a similar purpose. The plea of the Brāhmaṇa's devotion to his duties is held in other passages to justify his remarkable claim to possession of treasure trove. According to G. (X. 43-44), and Vas. (III. 13.14) a Brāhmaṇa fulfilling the duties of his class is entitled to keep the treasure-trove found by himself, unlike all others who have to be content with one-sixth of its value paid by the king.[10]

V. *Public rights*

The most important office held by the Brāhmaṇa in the *Dharmasūtras* as in the older Vedic State, is that of the *purohita*. G. (XI. 13-14) and more explicitly B. (I. 10. 18. 81.) require the king to abide by the *purohita's* instructions.[11] The general right of the Brāhmaṇas to declare the duties (*dharma*) of other classes for their enforcement by the king is strikingly expressed by Vas. The three other *varṇas*, he says, (I. 39-41), shall live according to the teaching (*nirdeśa*) of the Brāhmaṇas: the Brāhmaṇas shall declare the duties of the other *varṇas* and the king shall govern them accordingly. Finally we may mention that the Brāhmaṇas appear from a number of concrete examples to have exercised a dominant influence on the ad-

10 For a similar rule, see Viṣ. III, 58 f.

11 Mas. on G. XI. 12-13 gives a wide interpretation to this text by declaring that the king shall place the *purohita* in the forefront in all his acts and in particular make him the general (*senāpati*).

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ministration of justice. A Brāhmaṇa is mentioned by G. (XIII. 26) as the king's substitute at judicial trials. A remarkable text of Āp. (II. 5. 10. 12 f.) allows the *purohita* the specific privilege of inflicting any penalty short of corporal punishment and servitude upon Brāhmaṇas persistently disregarding their caste duties. In this we have the nearest approach to the church courts of mediaeval Europe that is found in our early canonical literature. The right of the Brāhmaṇas to give the benefit of their decision to the king in difficult cases of law is recognised in our present works. It is true that the referees including the members of the *pariṣat* are declared in general terms to consist of persons learned in the Vedas, the ancillary branches of learning and so forth. But it is reasonable to suppose that they are intended to be recruited largely from the Brahmanical order. Viṣ. at any rate specifically enjoins the king to consult the Brāhmaṇas when he has to inflict punishment for unspecified offences.

Limitations of the rights of Brāhmaṇas

However high might be the claims advanced on behalf of the Brahmanical order in the *Dharmasūtras*, it is necessary to remark that they are subject to important limitations even according to the ideas of their own authors. One group of these limitations is concerned with the refusal of the authors, so honourable to themselves, to admit degraded members of their order to the privileges of their class. Again and again in the *Dharmasūtras* Brāhmaṇas negligent of their duties are declared to be equivalent to the Śūdras. Thus Vas. (II. 27) says that the Brāhmaṇa by selling certain forbidden articles becomes an outcast or a Śūdra. In a subsequent passage III. 1 he says that Brāhmaṇas who neither study nor teach the Veda nor keep sacred fires (*aśrotriyā ananuvākyā anagnayo vā*) are equal to Śūdras. Vas. indeed goes so far as to ask the king (III 4) to punish a village inhabited by Brāhmaṇas negligent of their sacred duties (*avratāḥ*) and not studying the Vedas (*anadhīyānāḥ*). In the same context Vas. quotes (III. 17) some verses explicitly stating that slaying an assassin (*ātatāyī*), though he be versed in the Vedas, does not amount to the guilt of murdering a Brāhmaṇa. Similarly according to B. (I. 5. 10. 24.) Brāhmaṇas who tend cattle or live by trade or are artisans, actors, servants and usurers, shall be treated like Śūdras. B. again quotes (II. 4. 7. 15) some verses declaring that the righteous king may at his pleasure

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appoint to do the work of Śūdras those Brāhmaṇas who neglect the performance of twilight devotions (*sandhyā*) in the morning and in the evening. In so far as the *pariṣat* is concerned Vas. (III. 5*f*) as well as B. (I. 1. 1. 9) solemnly proclaim the unfitness of ignorant persons to declare the sacred law, and the sin attending them in case of their attempt to do so.[12]

The next series of limitations is concerned with the weakness of the Brāhmaṇas arising partly from their want of organisation under a single head and partly from the consequences of their own code of duties. By the rules of their order, the Brāhmaṇa has to depend for his livelihood upon the performance of sacrifice along with teaching, and receiving gifts, which involve in each case dependance upon others. No doubt in times of distress the Brāhmaṇa is permitted to live by alms, or even by agriculture and trade. But how incompatible these occupations are held to be with a Brāhmaṇa's vocation in normal times is proved by a few quotations. According to G. (quoted in B. II. 2. 4. 17), even the Brāhmaṇa who is unable to maintain himself otherwise shall not follow the Kṣatriya's profession, for the Kṣatriya's duties (*Kṣatradharma*) are too cruel for a Brāhmaṇa.[13] B. (I. 5. 10. 30) states openly that Vedic study impedes pursuit of agriculture and *vice versa* (*vedaḥ kṛṣivināśāya kṛṣirvedavināśini*).

12 The social stigma attaching to a Brāhmaṇa departing from his prescribed line of conduct may be illustrated by a few examples. The food of one whose only wife is a Śūdra woman (*Vṛṣalīpati*) must not be offered to the gods according to Vas. (XIV. 11), and it must not be eaten according to Āp. (I. 6.18.33). Again, according to Vas. (XV. 1) one who sacrifices for a Śūdra belongs to the class of those who must be cast off. In another place (XIV. 17) Vas. emphatically says that food offered by a man with faith may be eaten, but not that offered by a Brāhmaṇa who sacrifices for many and who initiates many. Vis. (LXXXII. 3 f.) gives a long list of Brāhmaṇas who must not be invited to a funeral repast. This consists of Brāhmaṇas who follow forbidden occupations, those who sacrifice for a multitude or for a village or for Śūdras, those who teach the Vedas for a fee and so forth. How much the father's sin was visited upon his sons is proved by Āp. (II 7.17.21). This passage includes among persons who defile a company in a funeral repast the son of a Brāhmaṇa following the warrior's profession and that of a Brāhmaṇa who by first marrying a Śūdra woman has become a Śūdra.

13 It deserves to be mentioned that the existing *Dharmasūtras* of G. (VII 6), on the other hand explicitly permits this. For some discussion on this contradiction, see Bühler, *S.B.E.* II, *Introd.* pp. lxiv ff.

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According to Āp. (II. 7. 17. 21), the son of a Brāhmaṇa who follows the Kṣatriya's profession (*āyudhīyaputraḥ*) defiles the company, if he is invited to a funeral sacrifice. Thus lacking the financial and military basis of its power while possessing no effective organisation of its own, the Brahmanical order could not but depend in the long run upon moral and spiritual sanctions for safeguarding its privileges. Indeed it is not unreasonable to suppose that the atrocious penances and frightful punishments prescribed in the *Dharmasūtras* for serious offences against the Brāhmaṇa's person and property and against his cherished right of Vedic study, mark a desperate attempt of the priestly order unsupported by any material force to maintain its privileges intact. To appreciate the claims of the Brāhmaṇas at their face value, it is necessary to remember that the period of the *Dharmasūtras* coincided with the rise of a number of heretical sects, of which those founded by Vardhamāna Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha became the most famous. How little, relatively speaking, was the real influence exercised on State administration by the Brāhmaṇas is illustrated by a few significant facts. The king in the *Dharmasūtras* has the unquestioned right of appointing the *purohita* and the Brāhmaṇa judge at the law-courts. We may reasonably hold that the right of selecting the members of the *pariṣat* was also enjoyed by the king. To the king belonged also the duty of maintaining the castes and orders in their respective paths, the contrary rule in a solitary text of Āp. giving the *purohita* plenary jurisdiction over Brāhmaṇa offenders against caste duties being evidently exceptional in character.

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The Subsidiary System in Rajputana*

From Jaipur we now turn to the minor States of Rajputana.

When the Hada State of Kotah became a subordinate ally of the East India Company, it was nominally ruled by Maharao Ummed Singh, who had ascended the *gadi* in 1771, but the *de-facto* ruler of the principality was the famous Minister, Raj Rana Zalim Singh. Tod has left for us a detailed account of the character and career of this remarkable man.[55] Kotah suffered from the depredations of Holkar and Amir Khan[56]; but thanks to Zalim Singh's clever diplomacy, her distress was much less serious than that of Mewar, Marwar and Jaipur. Tod says, "Placed in the very heart of India, Kotah was for years the centre around which revolved the desultory armies or ambulant governments, ever strangers to repose; and though its wealth could not fail to attract the cupidity of these vagabond powers, yet by the imposing attitude which he assumed Zalim Singh maintained during more than half a century, the respect, the fear, and even the esteem of all, and Kotah alone, throughout this lengthened period, so full of catastrophes, never saw an enemy at her gates."[57]

The Second Anglo-Maratha War brought Zalim Singh for the first time into contact with the British Government. When Colonel Monson marched through Kotah to attack Holkar, he received from Zalim Singh supplies as well as men. "But when the British army retreated and its commander demanded admission within the walls of Kotah, he met a decided and very proper refusal." Although Zalim Singh refused to invite Holkar's attack on his capital by offering shelter to "a panic-struck, beef-eating army within his walls", he sent his troops to ensure the safety of that army until it left the Mokundarra Pass in its rear. Holkar naturally took offence, encamped before the walls of

* Continued from *I.H.Q.*, vol. XXIII, page 32.

55 *Annals of Haravati*, chapters VII-XI.

56 Secret Consultations, September 6, 1804, No. 42: Political Consultations, 1807; January 29, No. 32; June 11, No. 16; June 25, No. 41.

57 *Annals of Haravati*, ch. IX.

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Kotah and realised three *lakhs* of rupees. Under these circumstances Monson's charge of treachery against Zalim Singh is hardly justifiable.[58]

When Lord Hastings invited the Rajput States to accept the protection of the East India Company, "the eagle eye of Zalim saw at once the virtue of compliance and the grace attendant on its being quickly yielded." His Maratha advisers were naturally adverse to his leaguing with the English, and he himself was reluctant to give up the independence of his State. But he quickly decided to accept subordination for the security it afforded. Moreover, it was hinted that at the end of the Pindari War the territories conquered from Holkar in Central India would be distributed among the allies of the British Government[59]. Zalim Singh sent a corps of 1500 men, infantry and cavalry, with four guns to co-operate with Sir John Malcolm. He also assisted the British Government in capturing several Pindari leaders.[60]

In October, 1817, Metcalfe was instructed to conclude an alliance with Kotah on principles similar to those which were laid down in respect of other States.[61] The negotiations were entrusted to Tod, who reached Zalim Singh's camp at Rowtah, about 25 miles S.S.E. of Kotah, on November 23, 1817.[62] The treaty[63] was signed in Delhi by Metcalfe on December 26, 1817. The general conditions of the treaty were similar to those which were incorporated in the treaties with Udaipur, Jodhpur and Jaipur. With regard to the question of tribute, it was decided that the money hitherto paid by Kotah to the Marathas (the Peshwa, Sindhia, Holkar and Puar) should be paid to the British Government. (Article 7). It was, therefore, necessary for the British Government to protect Kotah against any future claim from other States. Article 8 of the treaty ran as follows: "No other power shall have any claim to tribute from the principality of Kotah; and if any one advance such a claim the British Government engages to reply to it."

58 *Op. cit.*, ch. X.

59 Four districts ceded by Holkar were made over to Kotah by a *Sanad* dated September 25, 1819. (Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 359, 372-373). "It was at first intended to make a separate grant of these districts to the Minister (Zalim Singh), but he insisted that they should be annexed to the Kotah State."

60 *Annals of Haravati*, ch. X.

61 Secret Consultations, October 28, 1817, No. 26.

62 Tod, *Annals of Haravati*, ch. X.

63 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp 368-371.

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There were hereditary Rajput premiers in several States in Rajputana.[64] At the time when the treaty between Mewar and the British Government was being drawn out the Rana's *vakil,* who was a relative of the Rawat of Salumber, wanted to introduce a clause guaranteeing the position of the Bhanjgurrea[65] to the Rawat of Salumber, but Metcalfe merely gave an assurance that "the good conduct of the minister would ensure His Lordship's (i.e., the Governor-General's) approbation." In view of Zalim Singh's great services to, and pre-eminent position in Kotah, he was certainly entitled to demand that his control over administration shou'd be guaranteed. But no such guarantee was demanded from Metcalfe when the treaty was concluded. Tod says, "This excited the surprise of the British representative (i.e., Metcalfe), who, in his official despatch detailing the progress and conclusion of the negotiations, intimated that he not only expected such stipulation but was prepared for admitting it. There as no inadvertance in this omission; the Regent saw no occasion for any guarantee, for the plenary exercise of the powers of sovereign during more than half a century had constituted him, *de facto,* prince of Kotah. Moreover, we may suppose, had he felt a desire for such stipulation, that a feeling of pride might have stifled its expression....."[66]

On February 20, 1818, a "Supplementary Article"[67] was added to the treaty of December 26, 1817. It provided that Ummed Singh should be succeeded by his eldest son and heir-apparent, Kishore Singh, "in regular succession and perpetuity," and that "the entire administration of the affairs of the principality" should be vested in Zalim Singh and after him in his eldest son Madhu Singh, and his heirs "in regular succession and perpetuity." Thus "one person was recognised as the titular chief and another was guaranteed as the actual ruler."[68] According to Tod, the overture for this supplementary Article originated

64 Tod says, "The Rajpoot Premier is the military minister, with the political government of the fiefs; the civil minister is never of this caste. Local customs have given various appellations to this officer. At Oedipur he is called *bhanjgurh;* at Jodhpur, *pradhan;* at Jeypur.....*moosahib;* at Kotah, *kelladar,* and *dewan* or *regent.*" (*Feudal System in Rajasthan,* ch. IV).

65 See Malcolm, *Memoir of Central India,* vol. I, p. 549.

66 *Annals of Haravati.* ch. X.

67 Aitchison, *op. cit.,* vol. III, p. 372.

68 *Ibid.,* p. 360.

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not with Zalim Singh but with Madhu Singh. His comment reveals his political wisdom as well as his insight into Rajput character: "There is not a shadow of doubt that the supplemental articles of the treaty of Kotah, which pledge our faith to two parties in a manner which rendered its maintenance towards both an impossibility, produced consequences that shook the confidence of the people of Rajwarra in our political rectitude. They established two pageants instead of one, whose co-existence would have been miraculous....."[69]

This illogical system worked without difficulty during the life of Ummed Singh. Troubles began after his death (November, 1819). He left three sons—Kishore Singh, Bishen Singh and Prithvi Singh. Zalim Singh had two sons—the elder, Madhu Singh, legitimate; the younger, Gobardhan Das, illegitimate. Gobardhan Das was regarded by Zalim Singh with more affection, and endowed with almost equal authority with Madhu Singh, who was the declared successor to the Regency. Kishore Singh was, in Tod's words, "mild in his temper and demeanour; but being brought up in habits of seclusion, he was more conversant with the formulas of his religion, and the sacred epics, than with the affairs of mankind." Prithvi Singh, an energetic young man, was determined to "enfranchise himself and family from the thraldom in which his father had left them, or perish in the attempt." Gobardhan Das was jealous of Madhu Singh and "lived on terms of confidential friendship" with Prithvi Singh.[70]

After Kishore Singh's accession to the *gadi* his counsellors, under the guidance of Prithvi Singh and Gobardhan Das, advised him to repudiate the authority of the Regent. This policy was directed not so much against Zalim Singh, who was very old and quite blind, as against Madhu Singh, the would-be Regent. An appeal was made to Article 10 of the treaty of 1817,[71] and it was pointed out that the Regent's authority , being inconsistent with that Article, was illegal. The British Agent informed Kishore Singh "that no pretensions of the titular Raja can be entertained by us in opposition to our positive engagement with the Regent; that he alone was considered as the head of the

69 *Annals of Haravati*, ch. X.

70 Tod, *Annals of Haravati*, ch. X.

71 "The Maha Rao and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their country,....."

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Kotah State, and the titular Raja no more deemed the ruler of Kotah, than the Raja of Satarra the leader of the Mahrattas, or the Great Mogul the emperor of Hindustan." When all remonstrances failed, Kishore Singh was blockaded in his castle. When reduced to extremity he broke through the bockade at the head of 500 horse. He was, however, overtaken by the British Agent and conducted by him back to the castle. Gobardhan Das was banished to Delhi and a public reconciliation took place between Kishore Singh and Zalim Singh. These incidents occurred in May-June, 1820.[72]

Towards the close of 1821 Gobardhan Das was permitted to visit Malwa in connection with a marriage ceremony. His arrival there was immediately followed by the renewal of dissensions at Kotah. The troops of the Raj Paltan rose against Zalim Singh and joined Kishore Singh. When Zalim Singh assaulted the castle Kishore Singh fled to Bundi and then went to Brindaban, where he was able to contact Gobardhan Das. He was supported by the vassals of his State[73] in his struggle against the powerful Regent and the British Government. From Brindaban he returned to Kotah at the head of a force. On October 1 he was defeated by a British force which had been sent to co-operate with the Regent. Prithvi Singh was killed. Kishore Singh retreated to Mewar, but he was soon afterwards persuaded to return to Kotah.[74]

The terms on which the Maha Rao would continue to occupy the *gadi* were laid down in an Engagement[75] dated November 22, 1821. He promised to "submit cheerfully" to "all that the British Government may command." He recognised the validity of the Supplementary Article of the treaty of 1817 and declared that Zalim Singh and his successors should "conduct the entire administration of affairs." He promised not to entertain any troops beyond the personal guards allowed

72 Tod, *op. cit.*, ch. X.

73 "The entire devotion which the vassalage of Haravati manifested for the cause of the Maharao, exemplified..... the nature and extent of *saundhuma* or fealty which has been described as the essential quality of the Rajpoot character; while, at the same time, it illustrates the severity of the Regent's yoke."—Tod, *Annals of Haravati*, ch. XI.

74 *Annals of Heravati*, ch. XI.

75 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 373-374.

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to him. For his maintenance he was granted an annual pension of Rs. 1,64,877-10 annas only. On February 7, 1822, Tod laid down several Articles[76] defining the position of the Maha Rao. Those Articles are summarised by Tod himself[77] in the following words: "Besides the schedule of the personal expenditure, over which he was supreme, much of the state expenses was to be managed under the eye of the sovereign: such as the charities, and gifts on festivals and military ceremonies. The royal insignia used on all great occasions was to remain as heretofore at his residence in the castle, as was the band at the old guard-room over the chief portal of entrance. He was to preside at all the military or other annual festivals, attended by the whole retinue of the state; and gifts on such occasion were to be distributed in his name. All the places, in and about the city, were at his sole disposal, and funds were set apart for their repair: the gardens, *rumnas,* or game-preserves, and his personal guards, were also to be entertained and paid by himself. To maintain this ornament inviolate, an officer of the paramount power was henceforth to reside at Kotah."

Zalim Singh died in 1824. Madhu Singh succeeded him, and in spite of his unfitness and unpopularity he received full support from the British Government. In 1828 Kishore Singh was succeeded by his nephew, Ram Singh. The old disputes between the titular and the actual rulers broke out afresh, for Ram Singh could not co-operate with Madan Singh, the son and successor of Madhu Singh. "There was danger of a popular rising for the expulsion of the Minister; and it was therefore resolved, with the consent of the Chief of Kotah, to dismember the State and to create the new principality of Jhalawar as a separate provision for the descendants of Zalim Singh."[78] By a treaty[79] concluded on April 10, 1838, the Supplementary Article of the treaty of 1817 was repealed, seventeen parganas (yielding a revenue of twelve *lakhs of* rupees) were made over to Madan Singh, the tribute payable by Kotah was reduced by Rs. 80,000 (which sum was to be paid by Jhalawar), and the Maha Rao agreed to maintain an auxiliary force at a cost of not more than three *lakhs* of rupees. In 1844 the cost of the auxiliary force

76 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 375-376.
77 *Annals of Haravati*, ch. XI.
78 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 360.
79 *Ibid.*, pp. 376-379.

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was reduced to two *lakhs*. Thus the partition of Kotah solved the problem created by the Supplementary Article of the treaty of 1817.

The relations between the British Government and the new State of Jhalawar were defined by a treaty[80] concluded with Madan Singh on April 8, 1838. In addition to the usual stipulations about subordinate co-operation and protection, the treaty provided that the ruler of Jhalawar would pay an annual tribute of Rs. 80,000 and supply troops according to his means. "It was arranged that he should be placed exactly on the same footing as all the other rulers in Rajputana, and should receive the right of adoption,[81] if that right should be conceded to other rulers; but the succession was to be limited to the descendants of Zalim Singh."[82]

From Kotah we turn to Bundi. The Bundi *Durbar* gave valuable assistance to Colonel Manson during his retreat before Holkar in 1804 and applied for an alliance with the British Government. This application was supported by Lord Lake, and Malcolm wrote to the Supreme Government on July 2, 1805, "In the event of hostilities occurring with that chief (Sindhia) it is His Excellency's (Lord Lake's) opinion that the Raja of Bundi, though his possessions are small, may, from their local position and natural strength, prove an useful dependent to the British Government, and the conduct of that Chief (particularly at the period of the retreat of Colonel Monson's Detachment) was such as to give undivided proofs of his sincerity in the wish of meriting the protection of the British Government."[83] But on December 24, 1805, the British Government concluded a treaty[84] with Holkar by which it promised "to have no concern with the ancient possessions of the Holkar family in Mewar, Malwa, and Harrowtee." (Article 3). Holkar continued his depredations in Bundi. The Bundi *Durbar* appealed for assistance to the British Resident at Delhi, who "thought it his duty to abstain from raising any hope."[85] On October 20, 1810, the Governor-General in-

80 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 393-397.
81 This right was granted in 1862.
82 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 364.
83 Secret Consultations, September 12, 1805, No. 133.
84 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 194-197.
85 Political Consultations, January 29, 1807, No. 121; June 11, 1807, No. 16; August 29, 1808, No. 59.

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formed the Raja,[86] in reply to one of his letters, that the conclusion of an alliance was incompatible with the principles which regulated the conduct of the British Government: "It is the fixed principle of the British Government not to interfere in the concerns of other States excepting only in the degree required by the positive and legal treaties already existing....." In spite of such discouragement the Raja renewed his application in 1814.[87] But Lord Hastings had not yet decided to renounce Lord Minto's policy towards the Rajput States.

When Lord Hastings initiated his new policy the case of Bundi naturally claimed favourable consideration. "The territory of Bundi was so situated as to be of great importance during the war in 1817 in cutting off the flight of the Pindaris."[88] Tod says, "Throughout the contest of 1817, Boondi had no will but ours; its prince and dependants were in arms ready to execute our behest; and when victory crowned our efforts in every quarter, on the subsequent pacification, the Rao Raja Bishen Singh was not forgotten. The districts held by Holkar, some of which had been alienated for half a century, and which had become ours by right of conquest, were restored to Bundi without a qualification; while, at the same time, we negotiated the surrender to him of the districts held by Sindhia, on his paying, through us, an annual sum calculated on the average of the last ten years' depreciated revenue."[89]

In October, 1817, Metcalfe was informed that the Governor-General was willing to afford Bundi the protection of the British Government "on the simple condition of allegiance and of employing its military force with zeal and spirit in the common cause."[90] Tod was then entrusted with the duty of concluding a treaty with Bundi.[91] By Article 4 of the treaty of Mandasor[92] (January 6, 1818) Holkar ceded to the British Government "all claims of tribute and revenues of every descrip-

86 Bishen Singh ascended the *gadi* as a minor. His guardian, Ummed Singh, died in 1804.

87 Politicial Consultations, April 25, No. 44.

88 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 225.

89 *Annals of Haravati*, ch. IV.

90 Secret Consultations, October 28, 1817, No. 26.

91 *Op. cit.*, November 28, 1817, No. 5.

92 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 197-201

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tion which he has or may have had upon the Rajpoot princes, such as the Rajahs of Oudepoor, Jeypore, Jaudpore, Kotah, Boondee, Karawlie, &c." Sindhia's claim on Bundi, as calculated by Tod, amounted to about Rs. 80,000 or Rs. 90,000 per year[93]; but Sindhia claimed Rs. 1,05,000. At first Lord Hastings was under the impression that Sindhia's share of tribute from Bundi amounted to Rs. 10,000 only. So he was prepared to exempt Bundi from the payment of tribute. But Metcalfe knew better and asked Tod to include in the treaty a condition that Bundi would pay to the British Government the amount which it had so far paid to Sindhia.[94]

Tod arrived at Bundi on February 8, 1818, and a treaty[95] was concluded two days later. In accordance with the orders of the Supreme Government the conditions imposed on Bundi were "few and simple, providing for protection and guarantee on the one hand, and political dependence and subordinate co-operation on the other."[96] Tod says that in arranging the terms of this treaty "he assumed the responsibility of concluding it upon the general principles which were to regulate our future policy as determined in the commencement of the war; and setting aside the views which trenched upon these in our subsequent negotiations."[97] The Raja was exempted from the payment of the tribute due to Holkar, but he was required to pay to the British Government "the tribute and revenue" hitherto paid to Sindhia,[98] amounting to Rs. 80, 000 per annum. He was also required to "furnish troops at the requisition of the British Government according to his means."

Bishen Singh died on July 14, 1821, and was succeeded by his minor son, Ram Singh. "During the long minority which ensued the British Government had on more than one occasion to interfere in the internal administration of the state."[99]

93 Secret Consultations, March 13, 1818, No. 19.
94 *Op. cit.*, December 19, 1817, No. 105.
95 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 233-235.
96 Secret Consultations, February 13, 1818, No. 21.
97 *Annals of Haravati*, ch. IV.
98 For complications regarding the *pargana* of Patan see Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 225-226.
99 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 226.

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Surat Singh of Bikaner, who had succeeded to the *gadi* in 1801, exhausted the resources of his state by participating in the war between Jodhpur and Jaipur regarding the successsion of the pretender Dhokul Singh.[100] In 1808 he had to surrender to Man Singh of Jodhpur after bitter fighting for several months.[101] On this occasion he applied for the protection of the British Government, but "interference on the part of the British Government was contrary to the policy which then prevailed of withdrawing from all connection with the Chiefs to the west of the Jumna."[102] In 1812 Surat Singh wanted to open negotiations with the British Government, but he was not encouraged.[103]

Under the instructions of Lord Hastings a treaty[104] was concluded with Bikaner by Metcalfe on March 9, 1818. Bikaner was exempted from the payment of tribute, "both because that state has not heretofore been subjected to the payment of any fixed tribute and on account of the inadequacy of its resources to meet such a demand."[105] But the Maharaja engaged to "furnish troops at the requisition of the British Government, according to his means." Apart from the usual clauses regarding protection and subordinate co-operation, the treaty contained three interesting stipulations. By Article 6 the Maharaja undertook to suppress all robbers and plunderers in his territory and to restore the property plundered by his subjects from British territory up to the time of the conclusion of the treaty. By Article 7 the British Government engaged to restore the Maharaja's authority over his rebellious vassals and subjects, provided he paid the expenses incurred by the British Government for this purpose.[106] The following observations were made

100 See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*. pp. 234-250.
101 Close to Lord Minto, December 24, 1808.
102 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 337.
103 Political Consultations, August 28, 1812, No. 115.
104 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 343-345.
105 Secret Consultations, May 1, 1818, No. 16.
106 The following incident shows that the obligations imposed upon the British Government by Artices 6 and 7 were purely temporary: "In 1830..... preparations were made by the Resident at Delhi to send a force to Bikaner to assist the chief in reducing some rebellious nobles. The Resident acted under a misapprehension of the tenor of the 6th and 7th Articles of the Treaty of 1818, regarding the claims of the state upon the British Government for assistance. These Articles referred to temporary circumstances and effect was given to their

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by the Supreme Government on this Article: "It is manifest that, unless the authority of the Government of Bikaner be firm and efficient, it will not have the means of fulfilling the most important stipulations of the treaty, while, on the other hand, it is strictly equitable that the British Government should be paid any expenses it may incur on this account."[107] By Article 10 the Maharaja engaged to take effective measures for the protection of all trade routes within his territories, in order that these might be "rendered passable and safe for the transit of trade to and from the countries of Cabul and Khorasaun, etc."

Surat Singh died in 1828 and was succeeded by his son, Ratan Singh. In 1829 Ratan Singh violated his treaty engagements by invading Jaisalmer to punish some subjects of the latter for depredations committed by them. "Jaisalmer prepared an army to repel the invasion, and both parties had applied to neighbouring States for assistance when the British Government interfered, and through the arbitration of the Maharaja of Udaipur the dispute was settled, both parties making reparation for the injuries done."[108]

The three small principalities of Banswara, Pertabgarh and Dungarpur were offshoots from Mewar; but in the nineteenth century the rulers of these States did not acknowledge the authority of the Rana of Udaipur. When Metcalfe concluded the treaty with Mewar, the Rana's *vakil* claimed the restoration of the Rana's sovereignty over the Chiefs of

provisions at the time. They gave the Chief of Bikaner no right to call on the British Government for military aid against his disaffected subjects at any future period. Government was of opinion that the case was not one in which they were called on to interfere, and reminded the Resident that military aid should never be given to Native States for the suppression of internal disturbances except under the specific authority of Government." (Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 338).

107 Secret Consultations, May 1, 1818, No. 16: Tod says that Surat Singh spent about 24 *lakhs* of rupees, "nearly five years' revenue of this desert region," in the war against Jodhpur and then resorted to extortions for supplying his exhausted treasury. Naturally the *Sardars* were victimised: "The Chief of Bookurko he put to death.....Nahur Singh of Seedmookh, Gyan Singh and Goman Singh of Gundaili, amongst those chief feudatories of the state shared the same fate. Chooru was invested a third time, and with its chief fell into the tyrant's hands." (*Annals of Bikaner*, ch. I).

108 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 338.

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these States.[109] But the British Government had already decided to grant them independent recognition.[110]

In 1814 Ummed Singh, Regent of Banswara, who managed affairs on behalf of his father, the latter having "retired from the cares of government," sent a *vakil* to Metcalfe "to solicit the protection of the British Government."[111] The Governor-General declined to extend British protection to Banswara, mainly on the ground that the Maharawal was a tributary of Holkar, Puar and Sindhia.[112] Ummed Singh renewed his proposal in March, 1815,[113] but no attention was paid to him till October, 1817, when Metcalfe received instructions for bringing all Rajput States under control.[114] On September 16, 1818, Metcalfe concluded a treaty[115] with a *vakil* deputed by Ummed Singh. But the Maharawal denied that he had sent any duly authorised agent to Delhi to conclude a treaty with the British Government.[116] Although the British Government decided that the above treaty was binding on him, a new treaty[117] was concluded on December 25, 1818. Meanwhile the Puar Raja of Dhar had made over to the British Government "all his tributary rights in the principalities of Banswara and Doongurpore."[118]

By the treaty concluded in September, 1818, Banswara was required to "pay tribute to the British Government to the extent of three-eighths of the revenue." (Article 8). Article 8 of the treaty of December, 1818, provided that the Maharawal would pay to the British Government "all arrears of tribute due to the Rajah of Dhar or any other State," and Article 9 laid down that the tribute " is to increase annually as the territory of Banswarra recovers its prosperity till it rises to whatever amount the British Government may deem adequate to cover the expense incurred by protecting the State of Banswarra, provided that such tribute

109 Secret Consultations, February 20, 1818, No. 29.
110 *Op. cit.*, March 6, 1818, No. 7.
111 Political Consultations, April 15, 1814, No. 38.
112 *Op. cit.*, April 15, 1814, No. 39.
113 *Op. cit.*, May 23, 1815, No. 54.
114 Secret Consultations, October 28, 1817, No. 26.
115 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 64-66.
116 Secret Consultations, October 31, 1818, No. 97.
117 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp 67-69.
118 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 469.

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does not exceed three-eighths of the revenue of the country." Article 13 of the treaty of December, 1818, authorised the British Government to collect through an Agent the taxes "levied at the Chubootra and its dependent Nakhas," if the state failed to make punctual payment of the tribute. Article 4 (of both the treaties) contained the usual provision that the Maharawal would remain "absolute ruler" of his territory, but Article 5 (of both the treaties) authorised British intervention in internal affairs: "The affairs of the principality of Banswarra shall be settled according to the advice of the British Government, in which the British Government will pay all practicable attention to the will of the Maha Rawal." This arrangement was probably purely temporary, for Metcalfe wrote to the Supreme Government on September 22, 1818, "The fifth article was introduced in order to secure to us the right of interposing our advice and authority for the settlement of the disturbances which at present prevail in the State of Banswarra".[119] By Article 11 of the treaty of December, 1818 the Maharawal agreed "never to entertain in his service any Arab, Mekranees, Sindees, or other foreign troops; but that his army shall be composed of the military class of the inhabitants of the country." By Article 12 of the treaty of December, 1818, the British Government engaged "not to countenance the connections or relations of the Maha Rawul, his heirs and successors, who may prove disobedient; but to afford to the Maha Rawul aid in bringing them under due control."

Agreements were concluded with Banswarra in 1820, 1823, 1831 and 1836 regarding the amount of tribute.[120]

A treaty[121] was concluded with Pertabgarh[122] on November 25, 1804, by Colonel Murray, who then commanded the British army in Gujarat and Malwa. That treaty was cancelled by Lord Cornwallis in pursuance of his policy of withdrawal from connections with the Western Rajput States. The state suffered much from Holkar's depredations.[123] By Article 4 of the treaty of Mandasor[124] (January 6, 1818)

119 Secret Consultations, October 31, 1818, No. 97.

120 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 24-25, 81-82.

121 *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

122 For the condition of Pertabgarh in 1818 see the present writer's article in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1946.

123 Secret Consultations, November 7, 1818, No. 60.

124 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 197-201.

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Holkar surrendered to the Britash Government the tribute levied by him in Pertabgarh. On October 5, 1818, a treaty[125] was concluded with Sawant Singh, Raja of Pertabgarh, by Captain Caulfield, an assistant of Sir John Malcolm.

This treaty had some special features. Instead of the usual clauses regarding perpetual alliance and subordinate co-operation we have the following stipulation: "The Rajah promises to give up all connection with other states, and to the utmost of his power prove his obedience to the British Government, who, in return, agree to assist him in re-establishing good order throughout his district, and to protect him from the claims and tresspass of all other States." (Article 1). All arrears of tribute due to Holkar were to be paid to the British Government; the annual tribute so far paid to Holkar was now to be paid to the British Government. If punctual payment was not made, the British Government could collect the dues from the town duties of Pertabgarh through an Agent of its own. (Articles 2, 3, 12). By Article 4 the Raja agreed "not to entertain Arabs or Mekranees in his service" but to maintain 50 horsemen and 200 foot soldiers who were to be at the disposal of the British Government. Article 5 gave the British Government the right of interfering in the internal administration of the state "in the settlement of all predatory tribes, and in the re-establishment of tranquillity and good order." By the same Article the Raja engaged not to "levy any unusual duty on the mint or merchants, or on merchandise, throughout his territories." The British Government engaged to help the Raja in maintaining his authority over his subjects. (Articles 6, 7, 8, 9).

Captain Caulfield concluded a treaty[126] with Jaswant Singh, Maharawal of Dungarpur,[127] on December 11, 1818. It contained the usual clauses regarding perpetual alliance and subordinate co-operation. Article 5 authorised British intervention in the internal affairs of the State: "The affairs of the principality of Doongurpore shall be settled according to the advice of the British Government, in which the British Government will pay all practicable attention to the will of the Maha

125 Aitchison, *op. cit*, vol. III, pp. 82-85. 126 *Ibid.*, pp. 55-57.
127 For the condition of Dungarpur in 1818, see the present writer's article in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1946.

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Rawul." All arrears of tribute due to Dhar or any other power were to be paid to the British Government. (Article 8). In addition, the Maharawal would pay a tribute which was "to be regulated by the prosperity of his country but never to exceed three-eighths of the actual revenue." (Article 9). If the tribute was not paid punctually, an Agent of the British Government would "be appointed to receive the tribute from the town duties of Doongurpore." (Article 13). By Article 11 the Maharawal engaged "to discharge all Arabs, Mekranees, and Sindees; and to entertain no soldiers but natives of the country."

The little principality of Kishangarh is an offshoot from Jodhpur. On March 26, 1818, Metcalfe concluded a treaty[128] with Kalian Singh, Raja of Kishangarh. No tribute was demanded, for Kishangarh had never paid fixed tribute to any State. But by Article 6 the Raja engaged to "furnish troops at the requisition of the British Government according to his means." Metcalfe informed the Supreme Government that this Article was framed "with reference to an expectation that the resources of the State, which are at present confined, will hereafter improve."[129] The treaty contains the usual stipulations about perpetual alliance and subordinate co-operation. After the conclusion of the treaty Kalian Singh began a protracted quarrel with his *Sardars*, which ultimately led to his abdication in favour of his son, Mokam Singh.[130]

The geographical situation of Jaisalmer had saved it from the depredations of the Marathas. In 1809 Maharawal Mulraj informed the Governor-General that he was prepared to co-operate with the British Government if a British force was sent against the Amirs of Sind. Naturally Lord Minto rejected this offer.[131] A treaty[132] was concluded with Mulraj by Metcalfe on December 12, 1818. Apart from the usual clauses regarding perpetual alliance and subordinate co-operation, two stipulations deserve notice. Article 2 laid down that "The posterity of Maha Rawul Moolraj shall succeed to the principality of Jessulmere." Article 3 ran as follows: "In the event of any serious invasion directed towards the overthrow of the principality of Jessulmere, or other danger

128 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 128-130.
129 Secret Consultations, April 17, 1818, No. 77.
130 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 98-99.
131 Secret Consultations, August 5, 1809, No. 4; November 28, 1809, No. 7.
132 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 204-205.

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of great magnitude occurring to that principality, the British Government will exert its power for the protection of the principality provided that the cause of the quarrel be not ascribable to the Rajah of Jessulmere." No tribute was demanded, nor was any liability imposed for furnishing troops at the requisition of the British Government.

Mulraj succeeded to the *gadi* in 1761 and died in 1820. He was a puppet in the hands of his ministers: Swarup Singh, "a Bania of the Jain faith and Mehta family," and his son Salim Singh. Swarup Singh was murdered by Rai Singh, the eldest son and heir-apparent of Mulraj, at the instigation of some nobles. Mulraj himself was placed in confinement and Rai Singh was made the ruler of the State. Within a few months, however, Mulraj was restored, Rai Singh was banished, and Salim Singh, only eleven years old at that time, was appointed his father's successor as minister. Tod's observations on Salim Singh deserve notice: "Without any of that daring valour which distinguishes the Rajpoot, he overcame, throughout a long course of years, all who opposed him, uniting the subtlety of the serpent to the ferocity of the tiger. In person he was effeminate, in speech bland; pliant and courteous in demeanour; promising without hesitation, and with all the semblance of his sincerity, what he never had the most remote intention to fulfil."[133] He murdered Raj Singh and his two sons. Jait Singh, the second son of Mulraj, was blind; so was Jait Singh's son, Maha Singh. They were, therefore, incompetent to succeed. Man Singh, the third son of Mulraj, was killed by a fall from his horse. His third son, Gaj Singh, was proclaimed heir-apparent by the all-powerful minister, although two elder brothers of Gaj Singh were living. Tod found them living as refugees in Bikaner territory.[134]

At the time of the conclusion of the treaty of 1818 Salim Singh had tried to incorporate in it a guarantee, such as was given to Zalim Singh of Kotah, that the office of minister would be hereditary in his family. No such guarantee was given. But Salim Singh's authority remained unimpaired after Gaj Singh's accession in 1820. Tod says, "Rawal Guj Sing was fitted, from his years, his past seclusion, and the examples which had occurred before his eyes, to be the submissive pageant Salim Sing required. Isolated, in every sense, from intercourse

133 *Annals of Jessulmer*, ch. V. 134 *Op. cit.*, ch. V.

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with the rest of mankind, by the policy of the minister, he had no community of sympathy with them, and no claim upon their aid..... The prince himself, his wives and family, are alike dependents on the minister's bounty, often capriciously exercised."[135] When the minister's "outrages became past all endurance," the British Agent reported to the Government on December 17, 1821, that "he considered the alliance disgraceful to our reputation, by countenancing the idea that such acts can be tolerated under its protection."[136] Salim Singh died in 1824. An attempt was made to secure the succession of his eldest son to the ministership, but Gaj Singh refused to agree to that arrangement, and he was supported by the British Government.[137]

Karauli was the first among the minor Rajput States to accept the the new system introduced by Lord Hastings. By Article 14 of the treaty of Poona (June, 1817)[138] Peshwa Baji Rao II surrendered to the British Government all rights and claims over his tributaries in Hindustan and Malwa. This surrender included a tribute of Rs. 25,000 paid by the ruler of Karauli. The protection of the British Government was extended to the Maharaja of Karauli by a treaty[139] concluded by Metcalfe on November 9, 1817. The treaty provided for perpetual alliance and recognition of British supremacy. No tribute was demanded, but by Article 5 the Raja engaged to "furnish troops at the requisition of the British Government according to his means."

In 1825 the Raja of Karauli supported Durjan Sal in his attempt to usurp the *gadi* of Bharatpur. "After the fall of Bharatpur, however, the Maharaja made humble professions of submission, and it was not thought necessary to take serious notice of his conduct."[140]

The nucleus of the modern State of Alwar was formed by the fief of Macheri in the Jaipur State. Pratap Singh Naruka, Rao Raja of Macheri during the second half of the eighteenth century, may be regarded as its founder. His adopted son and successor, Bakhtawar Singh, concluded a treaty[141] with the British Government on November

135 *Op. cit.*, ch. VI.
136 *Op. cit.*, ch. VI.
137 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 150.
138 *Ibid.*, vol. VI.
139 *Ibid.*, vol. III. pp. 24, 285.
140 *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 264.
141 *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 322-323.

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14, 1803. No tribute was demanded, but Alwar troops were to co-operate with the British Government "in the event of any enemy evincing a disposition to attack the countries now in the possession of the Honourable Company or of their allies in Hindoostan". The foreign relations of Alwar were to be regulated by the British Government, which, however, engaged not to "interfere with the country of Maha Rao Rajah". For its co-operation with Lord Lake in the second Anglo Maratha war Alwar received several districts,[112] and Ahmad Baksh Khan, its *vakil,* received the grant of Loharu from the Rao Raja and of Firozpur from the British Government.[113]

In 1811 the Rao Raja of Alwar interfered in the internal affairs of Jaipur and made military arrangements to establish Khushhali Ram[114] as minister there. Such interference in the affairs of neighbouring States was inconsistent with but not specifically prohibited by, the treaty of 1803. So a fresh Engagement[115] was made on July 16. 1811, by which Bakhtawar Singh engaged "that he will never enter into any engagements or negotiation whatever with any other State or Chief without the knowledge and consent of the British Government." Even after this specific undertaking Bakhtawar Singh occupied the forts of Dhobi and Sikrawa and adjoining territory belonging to Jaipur and refused to restore them when asked to do so by the Resident at Delhi.[116] "As this was a direct violation of his engagements, it became a question whether to dissolve the alliance with him. To this course there were many objections, and chiefly that the Alwar State would have been left exposed to the invasion of Pindari leaders; it was therefore resolved to compel the Maharao Raja to restore the forts and territory to Jaipur. A force was moved against him, and when the troops were within one march of his capital Bakhtawar Singh yielded, restored the usurped territory, and paid three lacs of rupees as the expenses of the British expedition. It was the intention of Government, had actual hostilities taken place, to have punished the Chief by resuming the districts con-

142 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 323-324
143 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, pp. 129-130.
144 See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 201-204, 257-260.
145 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 324-325.
146 Secret Consultations, June 25, 1813, No. 26, 27, 30, 31, 32; October 1; 1813, No. 99; October 8, 1813, No. 18.

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ferred on him by Lord Lake, and even annexing his entire territories had his conduct justified such a measure."[147]

Bakhtawar Singh died in 1815. The succession was disputed by two factions acting on behalf of two minors—his nephew and adopted son Banni Singh, and his illegitimate son Balwant Singh. The former was supported by the Rajput Sardars, and the latter by Ahmad Bakhsh Khan. It was finally decided, with the approval of the British Government, that Banni Singh should be the titular ruler while Balwant Singh should exercise actual power. When he grew up Banni Singh repudiated this compromise, imprisoned Balwant Singh, and refused to surrender several persons who had tried to murder Ahmad Bakhsh Khan. In 1826 a British force advanced on Alwar, secured the surrender of the above conspirators and compelled Banni Singh to make provision for Balwant Singh and his successors.[148] In 1831 Banni Singh opened negotiations with Jaipur with the desire of doing fealty to the Maharaja of Jaipur. "This correspondence was considered to be a breach of treaty engagements, but not to be in itself of much importance."[149]

Sirohi was the last of the Rajput States to accept the protection of the British Government. In 1818 Rao Udaibhan, the ruler of Sirohi, was deposed and placed in confinement for tyranny and oppression by the nobles, who placed on the *gadi* his younger brothter, Sheo Singh. Man Singh of Jodhpur, who claimed suzeranity over Sirohi, sent a force in 1819 to restore Rao Udaibhan, but the attempt failed. It was during the disturbances arising out of this invasion that Rao Sheo Singh solicited the protection of the British Government. Captain Alexander Speirs concluded a treaty[150] with him on September 11, 1823. This treaty recognised Sheo Singh as Regent of Sirohi "during the time of his natural life" and guaranteed the succession to the lawful heirs of Udaibhan, should there be any such on the death of Sheo Singh.[151] The State was taken under British protection and its foreign relations were brought under British control. (Articles 1, 2, 3). Several Articles authorised the

147 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 315-316.
148 *Ibid.*, pp. 316, 325.
149 *Ibid.*, p. 316.
150 *Ibid.*, pp. 210-212.
151 As Udaibhan died without children in 1847, Sheo Singh was acknowledged as ruler of the State.

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British Government to interfere in the internal administration of the State. Article 4 ran as follows: "The jurisdiction of the British Government shall not be introduced into the territories of Sirohi, but the rulers thereof shall at all times attend to the advice of the officer of the British Government in the administration of their affairs, and act in conformity thereto." Article 9 authorised the officers of the British Government "to recommend such rates of transit duties and regulations for the collection of customs within the limits of the Sirohi territory as may on further experience be judged expedient, and to interfere from time to time to enforce or amend the same." Article 6 provided for the punishment of disobedient *Sardars* "in concert and concurrence with the Officers of the British Government." Article 5 made it obligatory for the Regent "to follow the counsel of the British authority in all his proceedings for the restoration of the prosperity of the country and the introduction of good order and regularity." Article 8 provided for the payment of a tribute "at the expiration of three years from the date of this engagement;" the amount was not to exceed three-eighths of the revenues of the State. Article 10 provided for military co-operation.

The weakness of the State and Sheo Singh's inability to suppress the rebellions of the Sardars[152] made it necessary for the British Agent "to exercise an unusual interference in its internal affairs." In 1854 the State was taken under the direct management of the British Government.[153] In 1861 the general control of affairs was made over to the heir-apparent, Umed Singh. Sheo Singh continued to enjoy the dignities and honours of office, but died shortly afterwards. In 1865 the State was released from British management and Umed Singh assumed full control.

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152 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 152-153, 212-214.
153 *Ibid.*, pp. 214-215.

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The Vāmana-Attendant on Gupta Coins

In the pages of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*[1] the present writer proposed some time back to read a new significance in the presence of the *vāmana*-attendant on the Battle-Axe and the Chatra coin-types of Samudragupta and Candragnpta II. This feature, it was suggested, shows that both these kings considered themselves *Bhadra-mahāpuruṣas* or rulers *par excellence* of the Madhyadeśa, exercising at the same time the paramount powers of a *Rāja-cakravartin*. In this connexion the attention of scholars was drawn to certain passages in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira, and specially to the chapter on *Pañca-mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇam* which throws much light on the rôle of the *vāmana*-attendant.

Certain interesting questions have, however, been raised with regard to the above.[2] These, briefly stated, are as follows: (i) that it is doubtful if the theories of Varāhamihira about the peculiar relationship between the *vāmana* and the *Bhadramahāpuruṣa* were known to the Gupta mint-masters, since in that case all the Gupta emperors should have issued coins representing themselves as attended by a *vāmana*; (ii) that neither Kumāragupta I nor Skandagupta issued such coins, though they were as much rulers of the Madhyadeśa exercising the paramount powers of a universal monarch as Samudragupta and Candra-gupta II ; (iii) that the *vāmana*, and not his master, is said to be a Viṣṇu-*bhakta*, and, therefore, his presence on the coins of Samudra-gupta and Candragupta II cannot contain any reference to their cult-devotion ; (iv) that Varāhamihira's evidence that the *Bhadramahā-puruṣa* is to have as his attendant a *vāmana* who is a Viṣṇu-*bhakta* goes against the testimony of inscriptions that among Candragupta II's officers were men who were not Vaiṣṇavites ; and (v) that the represen-tation of the royal attendant as a dwarf on the coins of Samudragupta and Candragupta II might have been an artistic convention.

It is intended here to meet these questions as far as practicable, and

1 Vol. VI, pp. 27-32, *A New Interpretation of the Gupta Chatra and Battle-Axe Coin-Types.*

2 *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 32-33, *Chief Editor's Note.*

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further to show on the evidence of coins that Kumāragupta I also considered himself a *Bhadramahāpuruṣa*, like his father and grandfather.

There does not appear to be much justification for the suggestion that Varāhamihira's theories on the association of the *vāmana*-attendant with the *Bhadramahāpuruṣa*-king were unknown to the mint-masters of the Guptas. The author of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, who is generally admitted to have flourished in the 6th century A.D., is not later by more than a century and a half than Samudragupta, the first of the Gupta emperors to represent himself on coins as attended by a *vāmana*. Further, it is recorded by Varāhamihira himself that his observations on the characteristics and functions of the different types of men, including the peculiar relationship in which the *vāmana* stands to the *Bhadramahāpuruṣa*, are based on those of earlier authorities.[3] Varāhamihira would, thus, appear to be not the originator, but the compiler of the tradition that gave a new and far-reaching significance to the dominion of a king when attended by a *vāmana*. The tradition must, therefore, have been current in the country from much earlier times, and as such could not have been unknown to the mint-masters of the Guptas. Indeed, the Battle-Axe and the Chatra coin-types would indicate that the fund of floating tradition upon which Varāhamihira drew for his observations on the *vāmana* in relation to the *Bhadramahāpuruṣa*, was also a source of inspiration to the Gupta mint-masters.

It has been asked, if the tradition associating the *vāmana* with the *Bhadramahāpuruṣa* was followed in the delineation of the Battle-Axe and the Chatra types of Samudragupta and Candragupta II, there was no reason why such types should not have been issued by their equally illustrious successors, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta.

As regards Skandagupta, it may be pointed out that his gold coins follow only two different types, namely, the Archer, and the King-and-Lakṣmī. Mr. Allan would ascribe to Skandagupta also the Horseman

3 *Br. Saṁ.* (Dvivedi's edition), II, Ch. on *Pañcamahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇam*, verse 40:

पुरुषलक्षणमुक्तमिदं मया मुनिमतान्यवलोक्य समासतः ।
इदमधीत्य नरो नृपसम्मतो भवति सर्वजनस्य च वल्लभः ॥

Bhaṭṭa Utpala has the following commentary on the verse:

ज्योतिषमागमशास्त्रं विप्रतिपत्तौ न योग्यमस्माकम् ।
स्वयमेव विकल्पयितुं किन्तु बहूनां मतं वक्ष्ये ॥ (*op. cit.*, p. 897).

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type, represented by a unique gold coin of the *suvarṇa* standard in the Bodleian collection.[4] V. A. Smith[5] and Prof. Rapson[6] attributed it to Candragupta II, who appears to have been the first of the Gupta emperors to strike coins on the *suvarṇa* standard.[7] Though there is much to be said for its assignment to Candragupta II, it is not impossible that the coin was one of Kumāragupta I, whose favourite device is the Horseman. Mr. Allan's attribution of the coin to Skandagupta, based on the argument, now untenable, that the *suvarṇa* standard first makes its appearance in his reign, is difficult of acceptance. Skandagupta, thus, appears to have failed to reproduce on his gold coins not only the Battle-Axe and the Chatra types of his predecessors, but also a host of the other different types issued by them. The non-appearance of the Chatra or some other analogous type on the gold coins of Skandagupta may have to be explained in the same way as that of the numerous other types of his predecessors. One explanation may be found in Prof. Rapson's dictum that "the Indian coin-types are essentially local in character".[8] With regard to the Gupta gold coins, Mr. Allan is, however, of the opinion that "the various types are not themselves the issues of different districts".[9] Differences of fabric, in his view, may also mark the issues of different districts. It is true that the localisation of the Gupta gold coin-types has not yet been feasible. Some of them, moreover, are clearly commemorative, and do not seem to have any local significance, as for example, the Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I. One should, however, bear in mind the well-known orthodoxy of the early Indian die-cutters as regards coin-devices, many of which are known to have persisted in particular areas even through major dynastic changes, as for example, the royal bust on the silver coins of the W. Kṣatrapas, borrowed from earlier Indo-Greek hemi-drachms, which was retained on the western issues in silver of their Gupta supplanters. It is, therefore, not improbable that some such local significance attached also to a majority of the gold coin-types of the Guptas. In that case, the non-appearance of so many of the types of his predecessors on the gold coins of Skandagupta may indicate that some, at least, of his ancestral domi-

4 Allan, *CICGDBM.*, p. c.
5 *JRAS.*, 1889, p. 86.
6 *Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 62.
7 *JNSI.*, VII, pp. 13-17, *A New Gold Coin of Skandagupta from N. Bengal*
8 Rapson, *CICBM.*, p. xi.
9 Allan, *CICGDBM.*, p. lxvi

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nions had fallen from his grasp. Reference may be made here to the Bhitāri pillar-inscription which records that Skandagupta had to face serious troubles at the beginning of his reign from the incursions of the Hūṇas and the Puṣyamitras.[10] These were not the only dangers to imperil the stability of the empire. The Junāgaḍh rock-inscription hints at an internecine struggle among the princes of the blood-royal on the death of Kumāragupta I.[11] Though Skandagupta seems to have come out victorious as the chosen of the Goddess of Fortune,[12] it is doubtful if he was able to maintain his ancestral dominions intact. We need not accept the suggestion made by some scholars that the empire was partitioned as a result of violent conflict between Skandagupta and Purugupta.[13] But the evidence of inscriptions, coupled with the fact that his gold coin-types are so few, would indicate that some of Skandagupta's ancestral dominions had fallen apart.

A second reason for this want of variety of Skandagupta's gold coin-types may have been the anaemic condition of the royal treasury. The wars against the Hūṇas and the Puṣyamitras, and against rival claimants for the throne, during the opening years of Skandagupta's reign, could not but have caused a serious drain on the imperial finances. His claim to have "re-established the depleted fortunes of his lineage"[14] sounds like an empty boast. The evidence of his coins shows that Skandagupta was hard put to it to meet the monetary requirements of the state. The Gupta mint-masters had to have recourse to some of the tricks of the trade to tide over the difficulties of the time. They debased Skandagupta's gold coins, specially those of the heavier *suvarṇa* standard, and issued silver-plated coins in Valabhī during the closing years of Kumāragupta I's reign.[15] All this is a clear pointer to the

10 Fleet, *CII.*, III, no. 13, verses 4 and 8.

11 *Ibid.*, no. 14, verse 5.

12 Cf. लक्ष्मीः स्वयं यं वरयां चक्रार, of the Junāgaḍh rock-inscription.

13 *Annals of Bhandarkar Institute*, I, 1919, *The Chronology of the late Imperial Guptas* by R. D. Banerji.

14 Cf. विप्लतां वंशलक्ष्मीं भुजबलविजितारिर्य्यः प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूयः, of the Bhitāri pillar-inscription.

15 Practices like these were apparently not unknown to Kauṭilya, the minister of Candragupta Maurya, for the *Mahāvaṁsa* says that the former "with a view to raising resources, converted (by recoining each *kāhāpaṇa* (i.e. *kārṣāpaṇa*) into eight and amassed eighty *kotis* of *kāhāpaṇas*." See *Num. Orient.*, 'Anc. Ind. Weights' by E. Thomas, p. 41.

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strenuous times through which the empire was passing. It is, therefore, not improbable that the depleted treasury which led Skandagupta to debase his gold coinage also compelled him to restrict it to a few types.

The non-striking by Skandagupta of gold coins, showing himself attended by a *vāmana*, may, therefore, have been due either to a realisation of his loss in stature consequent on a possible contraction of his ancestral dominions, or to the more practical consideration of the straitened state of the treasury.

There is little doubt that Kumāragupta I had maintained intact his father's empire, including the latter's western conquests. This is proved by his copious coinage, the large variety of his coin-types, and the widely scattered *provenances* of his coins. The volume of his gold coinage shows that the finances of the state were flourishing. Indeed, under Kumāragupta I the empire enjoyed a peace and a prosperity unprecedented in the previous reigns. The wars of aggression and aggrandisement of the reigns of Samudragupta and Candragupta II had come to an end. Little was heard as yet of internal strife or of external invasion. It was not till the long reign of Mahendrāditya had wellnigh drawn to a close that the Guptan peace (*pax Guptana*) was shattered by the hammering of the Hūṇas at the western gates of the empire. But the barbarians were beaten back. And Kumāragupta I continued till death in the full enjoyment of the dominions and the paramount status of his immediate predecessors. There is reason to believe that, like his father and grandfather, he also considered himself a king of the class of *Bhadramahāpuruṣa*, that is, a *Rāja-cakravartin*, having the core of his power in the Madhyadeśa. This is borne out by some of his coin-types.

One such type of Kumāragupta I is the rare Chatra, in copper, of which the Indian Museum has a specimen.[16] V. A. Smith describes it as of the "Umbrella" type, and attributes it to Kumāragupta I. The coin is unfortunately not illustrated in Smith's *Catalogue*, but his description leaves little room for doubt that it is a close copy of Candragupta II's copper coins of the Chatra type, showing on the obverse a *vāmana*-attendant holding *maṅgala-chatra* over the king's head. V. A. Smith reads the legend on the reverse of the coin as *Śrī-mahārāja Śrī Ku*[*mā*]*ragu* (*ptasya*). This rather neglected coin

16 *CCIM.*, I, p. 116, no. 55.

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cannot be explained away as a forgery or a freak specimen, since Sir A. Cunningham had one specimen and Mr. Delmerick, three, all of which were obtained at or near Ahicchatrā (mod. Ramnagar in the Bareilly District of the U. P.).[17] If V. A. Smith's reading of the coin-legend be correct, then the coin should, without doubt, be attributed to Kumāragupta I. It is not possible to ascribe it to Kumāragupta II, since the copper coinage of the Guptas seems to have closed with the reign of Kumāragupta I. No copper coins for the reign of Skandagupta are known to exist, and V. A. Smith's attribution of certain copper coins with the legend 'Ku' in the field to Kumāragupta II[18] is hard to accept.[19] As noticed above, the obverse device of Kumāragupta I's copper coins of the Chatra type is king attended by a *vāmana-chatradhara*.

A *vāmana-chatradhara* makes his appearance also on some of the gold coin-types of Kumāragupta I. One is the Elephant-rider type, known from a specimen in the Indian Museum,[20] of which a duplicate seems to have been in the possession of one Rev. Long.[21] The obverse of the coin shows the king, holding *aṅkuśa* in his right hand, and riding on an elephant which advances to *left* with right fore-leg raised; behind the king, seated on the elephant, is a *vāmana*-attendant, holding *maṅgala-chatra* with floating *patākā* over the king's head. The reverse shows Lakṣmī-Śrī, nimbate, standing to front with lotus-flower in her left arm held in *kaṭihasta*. There is an emblem on either side of the goddess. Dr. Hoernle, who was the first to notice the coin, was not sure of the object on the left, and suggested that the one on the right might be a conch-shell or a *bodhi*-tree.[22] In the opinion of V. A. Smith, the object on the left is a lotus-flower held downwards, and that on the right, a vase or shell. Mr. Allan seems to agree with Vincent Smith as regards the identity of the two objects.[23] There can be little hesitation in identifying the object to the left of the goddess as a conch-shell; that on her right appears to be a lotus-flower from which issue stalks of lotuses, on one of which the right hand of the goddess is placed. Dr. J. N. Banerjea makes the interesting

17 *CCIM.*, I, p. 116, note 3.
18 *Ibid.*, I, p. 120, no. 3.
19 Allan, *CICGDBM.*, p. xcvii.
20 *CCIM.*, I, p. 115, no. 38, and pl. XVI, no. 7.
21 *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1882, p. 104.
22 *Ibid.*, 1882, pp. 91-92.
23 Allan, *CICGDBM.*, p. 88.

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suggestion that the conch-shell and the lotus on either side of the goddess Lakṣmī-Śrī stand for two of the *aṣṭanidhis* with which *Śrī* is usually associated, namely, the *śaṅkha-nidhi* and the *padma-nidhi*.[24] There are traces of uncertain inscription in Gupta script on both the obverse and the reverse. According to Mr. Allan, the obverse legend "perhaps begins *Kṣiti*[*pati*]". Both Vincent Smith and Mr. Allan agree that the reverse legend ends in '*gaja*'. The coin was attributed to Kumāragupta I by them. This was rendered probable by the style and execution of the coin, by the Gupta script of its legends, and by the fact also that it was found in association with gold coins of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. The discovery by Hirananda Sastri of a new variety of Kumāragupta I's Lion-slayer type[25], having much close similarity to the Elephant-rider coin, makes the latter's assignment to Kumāragupta I almost a certainty.

The new variety of Kumāragupta I's Lion-slayer type has on the obverse king, holding *aṅkuśa* in right hand and riding on an elephant which advances to *right* with left fore-leg raised and tramples a lion; behind the king, seated on the elephant, is a *vāmana*-attendant, holding *maṅgala-chatra* with floating *patākā* over the king's head. The reverse shows Lakṣmī-Śrī, nimbate, standing to front with face to left, holding lotus-flower in her left arm held in *kaṭihasta*, while with her right hand she feeds a peacock on her right.[26] There are traces of a marginal legend on the obverse which appears to begin 'Kṣitīśvara'. The reverse legend which is fairly certain, reads *Siṃhanihantā-mahendr-(āditya)*. Hirananda Sastri considers this coin to be a new variety of the Lion-slayer type of Kumāragupta I instead of the Elephant-rider type, because of the epithet *Siṃhanihantā* in the reverse-legend and the fact that a lion is trampled to death on the obverse. In his view, "the reverse of this coin, excepting the legend, is that of the Tiger-slayer type, and omitting the trampling of the lion the obverse is that of the Elephant-rider type." It may, however, be pointed out that there is not much in common between the reverse of this new Lion-slayer coin

24 For a discussion of the *aṣṭanidhis*, see *Development of Hindu Iconography* by Dr. J. N. Banerjea, p. 116 and note 1.

25 *JASB., Num. Suppl.*, 1917, pp. 155-56, *Novelties in Gupta Coins*.

26 Hirananda Sastri's description of the goddess as standing to left is misleading. His plate shows that she stands to front with face to left. Here the goddess is probably to be identified with Devasenā, the wife of Kārttikeya.

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of Kumāragupta I and that of his Tiger-slayer coins, excepting that on both the goddess feeds a peacock.[27] On the contrary, the attitude of the goddess and the manner in which she is figured remind one strongly of the reverse of the Elephant-rider type. On both, the goddess on the reverse stands to front, holding a lotus-flower in her left hand which rests on the hip in the *katyavalambita* pose. On the Lion-slayer coin she feeds a peacock with her half-raised right hand which on the Elephant-rider coin is placed on stalks of lotuses growing by her side, while the conch-shell in the right field of the Elephant-rider coin is absent from the Lion-slayer specimen. Hirananda Sastri has rightly remarked that the obverse of the new Lion-slayer coin, with the exception of the trampled lion, is like that of the Elephant-rider one. Indeed, the attitude of the advancing elephant with one fore-leg raised has so great a similarity on the two coins that one feels tempted to ask if the so-called Elephant-rider type did not also display a lion being trampled underfoot of the elephant. It is not beyond the range of possibility that a struggling lion had been cut into the die of the Elephant-rider coin as on that of the new Lion-slayer coin, but has gone off the flange because of the die being larger than the metal-blank. It should be noticed that the obverse-legend on both the coins begins with '*Kṣiti*'. Hirananda Sastri reads the reverse-legend of the Lion-slayer coin as *Simhanihantā-Mahendr(āditya)*, which is fairly certain. According to V. A. Smith and Mr. Allan, the legend on the reverse of the Elephant-rider coin ends in '*gaja*'. But this reading is not above doubt. It is not unlikely that both Vincent Smith and Mr. Allan were tempted to read '*gaja*' in the reverse-legend because of the elephant on the obverse. In view of these considerations, it is not impossible that the so-called Elephant-rider type of Kumāragupta I was another variety of his new Lion-slayer coin.

Be that as it may, Kumāragupta I's Chatra type in copper, and his Elephant-rider type along with the new variety of his Lion-slayer type in gold indicate that, like his father and grandfather, he also claimed to be a *Bhadramahāpuruṣa*. The Elephant-rider type of Kumāragupta I and the new variety of his Lion-slayer type have further interest. They

27 Cf. Allan, *CICGDBM.*, pl. XIV, nos. 14-17 and pl. XV, nos. 1-4. On Hirananda Sastri's coin the goddess on the reverse stands to front with face to left, while on the Tiger-slayer coins she stoops to left.

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depict the king, who styles himself as *Mahendrāditya*, riding an elephant, with his head shaded by a parasol, even as the Great Indra (Mahendra) of heaven. This theme of the emperor riding on an elephant, like Indra of heaven, with the parasol of universal sovereignty raised over his head, finds an echo in Kālidāsa, when he says of Atithi, son of Kuśa and Kumudvatī, that "beautiful like Indra he paraded on his elephant, mighty like Airāvata, through his city filled with flags, resembling *kalpa* trees, and made it a second heaven."[28]

It will be seen from the above that all the three Gupta emperors, namely, Samudragupta, Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I, who had enjoyed an undoubted paramountcy in Northern India, issued coins representing themselves as attended by a *vāmana*. In view of this close correspondence between the coin-types of three generations of Gupta emperors who were primarily rulers of the Madhyadeśa, and the tradition of the association of the *vāmana* with the *Bhadramahāpuruṣa*, that is, a king of the Madhyadeśa who has raised himself to the status of a universal monarch, it is no longer sufficient to describe the dwarfing of the royal attendant on the coins of these Gupta sovereigns as mere artistic convention. Artistic conventions, moreover do not grow up in a vacuum. They are generally based on tradition which may or may not find mention in contemporaneous literature. The Gupta art-convention of depicting the royal attendant as a dwarf on coins may similarly have owed its origin to the tradition recorded by Varāhamihira that the *Bhadramahāpuruṣa* ought to have as his special attendant a *vāmana*, though no exactly contemporary notice of the latter may as yet have been found in literature.

A word or two about any possible religious or cult-significance of the *vāmana* may not be out of place. The present writer had suggested that the *vāmana* on the coins of Samudragupta and Candra-

28 *Raghuvaṁśam*, XVII, 32-33:

स पुरं पुरुहूतश्रीः कल्पद्रुमनिभध्वजम् ।
क्रममानश्चकार द्यां नागैरावतौजस ॥
तस्यैकस्योच्छ्रितं छत्रं मूर्द्धि तेनामलत्विषा ।
पूर्वराजवियोगौष्म्यं कृतस्नस्य जयतो हृतम् ॥

Credit is due to Mr. Sivaramamurti for having for the first time pointed out the parallelism between the passage in Kālidāsa and the Elephant-rider type of Kumāragupta I. See *Numismatic Parallels of Kālidāsa* by C. Sivaramamurti, pp. 16-17.

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gupta II might contain a reference to their devotion to the cult of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu. To this, however, exception has been taken on the ground that, according to Varāhamihira, "the *vāmana* was to be a Viṣṇu-*bhakta*, and not his master." It is true that Varāhamihira says nothing of the cult-leaning of the *Bhadramahāpuruṣa*, though he describes the *vāmana*, the former's attendant, as a devotee of Vāsudeva.[29] But this close association of a Vāsudeva-*bhakta* with the *Bhadramahāpuruṣa*-king as the latter's attendant may not be without significance. It has to be noted that the *vāmana*, a devotee of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu, is mentioned as the distinctive attendant of the *Bhadramahāpuruṣa*-king. This does not mean that the latter may not have in his *entourage* men following other cults, and the fact that Candragupta II had Buddhists and Śaivas among his servants (*pāda-dāsa*) does not stand in the way of his inclusion among *Bhadramahāpuruṣas*. It is, however, permissible to hold that the *vāmana*, a Vāsudeva-*bhakta*, is thus particularly associated with the *Bhadramahāpuruṣa*, because the latter was known well to be a devout worshipper of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu, that is, a *parama-bhāgavata*.

Rabis C. Kar

29 The idea of the *vāmana* or dwarf as a devotee of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu may have been derived from the concept of the *Vāmana* (Dwarf) as one of the *prādurbhāvas* or *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. It should be noted that an *avatāra* is frequently described as meditating on the god from whom he is supposed to have emanated.

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New Light on Vaidyaka Literature

(*From Niścalakara's Ratnaprabhā*)

I

Important materials of Sanskrit literature in all its branches are still lying hidden in the Mss. libraries of India. Nothing can better illustrate this than the fact that the examination of a single book preserved in Ms. fragments—*Niścalakara's Ratnaprabhā*—throws quite a flood of new light on the history, chronology and bibliography of early medieval Vaidyaka literature of India in general and that of Bengal in particular. It has become necessary in the light of these new materials to re-examine the entire scheme of chronology of the Vaidyaka writers.

Manuscripts of Niścalakara

The *Ratnaprabhā* is a commentary on Cakradatta's *Cikitsāsaṅgraha*, a standard work on Indian therapy still consulted by physicians throughout India. A Ms. of the work was preserved in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner (R. L. Mitra: *Bikaner Cat.*, 1880, p. 634). We understand that this Ms. is no longer traceable in the above library. Five years ago a mutilated fragment in the Bengali script (foll. 1-40, 42, 44-59 &c. to 228, reaching up to the chapter on Vidradhi) was presented to the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta. With the kind permission of the Pariṣat authorities we thoroughly examined it immediately and published the results in a short paper printed in the Pariṣat Journal (*S. S. P.*, vol. 49, pp. 93-105). We shall refer to this Ms. as marked 'A'. There are two Mss. at Poona (B. O. R. I. No. 889 of 1887-91 and No. 620 of 1895-1902, which we shall refer to as P 1 and P 2). P 1 contains both the text and the commentary (foll. 637); it was copied at the 'great city' of Bikaner in 1784 V. S. (1727 A.D.). P 2 which is almost an exact copy of P1 page to page and line to line was copied in 1814 V. S. (1758 A.D.) probably at 'Savai-Jaypur'.[1] Both these Mss. were evi-

1 We take this opportunity of expressing our grateful thanks to the authorities of the B.O.R.I. and specially to Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator, for readily giving us loans of both the copies. The Mss. are described in the *Des. Cat.*, vol. XVI, part I, Nos. 63-4.

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dently copied from a common original, which may not unlikely have been the missing copy of Bikaner; they exhibit the same sorts of mistakes and readings. Though the text is complete in both, the commentary stops abruptly on fol. 633b in the midst of a quotation (the last line being नस्यकर्म हितं तेषां) from Candrata, in the chapter on नस्याधिकार। In other words, the commentary is all but complete in these two copies wanting only the last six small chapters of the book. A closer examination, however, brings out the following curious fact, puzzling to the extreme. Foll. 480-579 in P1 is written in altogether a different hand and appears to be by far the most correct portion of the whole copy. Fol. 480 is *not* in continuation of fol. 479 and though both the text and the commentary in this portion are expressly ascribed to Cakradatta and Niścalakara respectively in the colophons at the end of the different chapters (*vide* fol. 504b, 514b, 532b, 542a, 559a & 567b), they are almost entirely different from the text uniformly printed in the various editions of the book. In this portion there are eight references to Niścala in the printed commentary of Śivadāsa; none of these can be traced in the present copy. In the chapter on infantile diseases there is a recipe named हरिद्रादि। Śivadāsa notes under it निश्चलस्तु सिंही वासक इत्याह। The same recipe is traceable in the present copies (fol. 525a), but the so-called commentary of Niścalakara has the following note instead: सिंही कण्टकारिका। Under eye diseases there is a recipe in the current text of Cakradatta—त्रिफलाभृङ्गमहौषध— (in the Āryā metre) which is commented upon by Śivadāsa. The same recipe is found in the present copies in quite different Anuṣṭubh verses and the commentary (fol. 499b) here quotes the above Āryā verse under the caption उक्तमन्यत्रापि तन्त्रान्तरे। Similarly under diseases of the children the two Anuṣṭubh verses about the dose of a medicine: प्रथमे मासि जातस्य—are not found in the text of the present copies, but the commentary cites them with the note परिमाणावगमस्तन्त्रान्तरात्, यदुक्तं...(fol. 523b). It is, therefore, right to conclude that this portion of the two Poona copies from the eye diseases up to a major portion of the very important chapter on Rasāyana is not genuine and we have left it out in our present studies. Probably a large lacuna in the very original copy was filled up by the text and commentary of an undoubtedly recent work which was fathered upon Cakradatta and Niścalakara by the unscrupulous copyist. We are not yet able to

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find out the names of the real authors of this portion. That it is a recent work is proved by the fact that in the chapter on poisons both the text and the commentary mention (fol. 555-56) अहिफेन (opium), which is admittedly a later accretion in Indian medicine and was quite unknown in the times of Cakradatta. The portion nevertheless is very correctly written (specially in P 1) and contains important matter for careful consideration by the scholars of Āyurveda.

Of the three above Mss. the Calcutta Ms. (A) exhibits a better and more correct text of the commentary. Niścalakara as a commentator forms almost a class by himself in Sanskrit literature. It was his motto to refer almost all his quotations to their actual sources—a very rare virtue among Indian writers. What a contrast with Śivadāsa who expressly abridged[2] the work of Niścala and in doing so almost wholly obliterated the vast amount of historical materials collected by the latter. Śivadāsa wrote the *Tattvacandrikā* commentary on Cakradatta about 1500 A.D. For, his father Ananta Sena was the physician of Barbak Shah (1459-1476 A.D.) Sultan of Bengal as stated by Śivadāsa at the end of his commentaries on Cakradatta's *Dravyaguṇa* and उत्तरस्थान of अष्टाङ्गहृदय:—

योऽन्तरङ्गपदवीं दुरवापां, छत्तमप्यतुलकीर्त्तिमवाप ।
गौडभूमिपति-वार्व्वकशाहात्, तत्सुतस्य कृतिनः कृतिरेषा ॥

Niścala begins his commentary thus:—

पञ्चभूतप्रपञ्चेन पञ्चगोचरचारिणे ।
पञ्चात्मपञ्चवक्त्राय निष्प्रपञ्चात्मने नमः ॥१
सर्वमङ्गलसङ्गीतं कुर्व्वन्तु ज्ञानदेवताः ।
व्यसनार्णवतारिण्यः कारुण्यैकरसायनाः ॥२
लक्ष्मीं लक्ष्मीमिव स्तौमि जननीं जननीं श्रियः ।
सदानन्दकरं तातं सदानन्दकरं ततः ॥३
भवन्तु दुर्ज्जना मूका वावदूकाश्च सज्जनाः ।
सर्व्वदा कुमुदश्येनी वाग्देवी नः प्रसीदतु ॥४
आयुर्व्वेदगुरौ स्वर्गं गते विजयरक्षिते ।
चक्रसंग्रहरत्नस्य कुबोधमलिनत्विषः ॥५

2 Śivadāsa writes in the beginning of his commentary: टीका रत्नप्रभा चक्रदत्त-निर्म्मितसंग्रहे । यद्यप्यास्ते तथाप्येष संक्षेपाय ममोद्यमः ॥ (v.3). He has often quoted from the earlier commentary invariably under the name of Niścala.

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तन्त्वान्तरगुणाकर्षगुरूक्तीनाञ्च घर्षणात् ।
श्रीनिश्चलकरेणाद्य प्रभा तस्य प्रकाश्यते ॥६[3]
अयि रत्नप्रभे पुत्रि सदा करकुलान्वये ।
निःशङ्कमकलङ्केन भजस्व भिषजां वरम् ॥७
योगव्याख्याप्रसङ्गेन लेख्यं योगान्तरं मया ।
सुदृष्टं च प्रसिद्धं च युक्तिसिद्धं च नाम च ॥८

नाम आचार्याणां व्याख्यातॄणाञ्च । इह हि सकलवैद्यकुल-[1] मौलिमालामाणिक्य-मार्जितचरणनखमणिः श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तो विद्वद्विदितचरकचतुराननो बहुश्रुतपरिश्रुतसुश्रुत सहस्रनयनोपि चिकित्सोत्सेकानेक-चिकित्सकबुभुत्सा-प्रारिप्सितग्रन्थसन्दर्भारम्भे गुरुपरम्परा-परिप्राप्तं निष्प्रत्यूहकारकं नमस्कारमकार्षीत्—गुणखयेत्यादि । न चायं नमस्कारो निष्प्रयोजनः .....(मङ्गलवाद).....Then in fol. 2a प्रेक्षावत्प्रवृत्त्यर्थं सम्बन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनमाह —नानेत्यादि । नानायुर्व्वेदेत्यादिना खोत्प्रेक्षितत्वं निरस्तम् । सदिति सिद्धफलम् । सारावली-योगमञ्जरी-योगरत्नाकर-शुकतन्त्र-चन्द्रटामृतघटादिसंग्रहेण यत् कृतकरत्वं तत् प्रतिक्षिपति—गूढवाक्येत्यादिना । If we compare this with the corresponding portion of Sivadāsa's commentary we shall clearly see how Sivadāsa has applied his scissors upon Niścala. The four or five lines of Niścala's मङ्गलवाद are contracted to just three words and the important list of therapeutic treatises which were written before Cakradatta is altogether omitted. As promised by him in v. 8 above Niścala collected a very large number of recipes not mentioned by Cakradatta and almost in every case recorded the names of the authors and commentators from whom these were borrowed. Sivadāsa true to his promise of abridgement neatly cut through all this mass of additional matter in Niścala.

3 A reads v. 2 before v. 1. The names of the author's parents are recorded in v. 3. In v. 4 P 1 & 2 read वाचमूकाः and कुमुदश्रेणी, both incorrect. The first half of v. 6 is torn in A except the last four letters which are मिघर्षणात्, this seems to suggest a reading like गुरूक्तिश्रमिघर्षणात् which gives a better sense and is more in keeping with the metaphorical language of the author than the reading in P. In v. 7 P read अपि for अयि and करगुणान्वये

4 P omit कुल, read परिलिप्सित for प्रारिप्सित, प्रामाणिकाचारपरम्परा for गुरुपरम्परा and सम्बन्धाभिप्राय for सम्बन्धाभिधेय

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Colophon of Niścala's work

At the end of the chapter on fever we have:[5]

तत्तद्वाक्यविचारतत्त्वपदवीदोत्तागतिस्मारको
व्याख्यावृत्तिभृदात्मवत्सलतया बन्धुर्निबन्धो मम ।
वैद्यैर्वैद्यकमर्मचर्वणचणैः प्राणैः परार्थव्रतैः
रत्तोयं खलसर्पदर्पदशनात् सभ्यैरिति प्रार्थये ॥

वाग् रे विशुद्धहृदये सदये प्रसीद, त्वां प्रार्थये मम गिरोऽत्र गभीरचक्रे ।
अन्तर्विशन्तु विलसन्तु परिद्रवन्तु तन्वन्तु पूर्वभिषजां प्रकिरन्तु कीर्त्तिम् ॥

इत्यन्तःपुरवैद्य-वैद्यक (महा-P)महोपाध्याय-श्रीनिश्चलकृतौ रत्नप्रभायां चक्रसंग्रह-तात्पर्य-टीकायां ज्वराधिकार-(चिकित्सावितृतिः P)। (A fol. 50b; P fol. 70a). The same colophon, without the verses, is also found at the end of several chapters in P (fol. 245b, 412b & 443b – omitting वैद्यक and adding कर after निश्चल). The verse invoking वाग्देवी occurs, however, after the colophon in fol. 443b.

Niścala a distinguished physician

From the above it is clear that the name of the author was Niścala and he belonged to the 'Kara' family. His privileged position in the Royal harem proves that he was a practising physician of great eminence, besides being a superior Vaidyaka scholar. He possessed evidently through royal patronage one of the biggest libraries of the age. An idea of the richness of his collection of Vaidyaka works will be conveyed by the interesting fact that he consulted three old copies of the long-lost जतूकर्णसंहिता in testing the correctness of a reading in the text:—

अत्र चिल्लकात् पले इत्यधिकरणनिर्देशः । क्षारस्यापि पलमेकम् । अत्रार्थे तन्त्रान्तरम् —अग्निक्षारपलाभ्यां द्विमूलं चतुर्ज्जलं च घृतप्रस्थमिति चक्रः । पुराणपुस्तकत्रयेपि जतूकर्णे मया नेदं दृष्टं, दृष्टं चाग्निपलाभ्यां द्विमूलं चतुर्ज्जलं घृतादिति । अतः पले इति प्रथमाद्विवचनान्तम् । (A 200b, P 335b—in the chapter on उदरचिकित्सा). He has often recorded his personal experience in the practice of medicine—e. g. दृष्टफलमिदम् (P 51a), मयैव बहुधा दृष्टफलम् (P 206a),

5 P read the second verse after the post-colophon and have the following variation of readings:—

व्याख्यावृत्तिधृतात्मवान्धवतया वक्तुं in the second line of v. 1. वाग्देवी...विलसन्तु भ्रमन्तु चेतो, नित्यं हरन्तु ... in v. 2.

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लोहचूर्णयोगोयं बहुधास्मदनुभूतफलोबोध्यः (A 103a, P 171a) &c. In the following interesting passages he has actually recorded the names of some of his distinguished patients: —

पृथ्वीका कृष्णाजीरकं न तु सूक्ष्मैला। कृष्णाजीरकस्य अतीक्ष्णत्वेपि द्विगुणशर्करायोगात् मृदुत्वं प्रभावाद्वा रक्तपित्तहन्तृत्वम्। किञ्चास्माभिरेव परिडतभिक्षु-शाक्यरक्षित-प्रभृतिषु दृष्टफलः। (A 85: cf. Śrīkaṇṭha on *Siddhayoga* p. 132. The personal reference is, however, not found in P 148a)

योगोयं भोजनवीर्य्या(धि)कृत-यतपालित-महातन्त्राधिकृत लोकेश्वरादिष्वस्माभिरेव दृष्टफलः। (A 103a)

तथा सत्परिडत-ध्यानकीर्त्तिरपि योगैरेभिर्ल्लेपगण्डूषधारणैर्वक्ष्यमाणलोह।भ्रकैरस्माभिरुपमीत इति। (P 446a under tooth-troubles). The first name is that of a distinguished Buddhist monk and scholar Śākyarakṣita and this prompts us to raise the problem of Niścala's provenance and date which is discussed below before any other matter.

Niścala belonged to Bengal

As the commentator of the work of one, who 'beyond doubt' belonged to Bengal (*Hist. of Bengal*, I, p. 316) and more particularly to a Vaidya family of Varendra stock[6], Niścala along with a large number of the authorities cited by him can be reasonably assigned to Bengal unless positive proof to the contrary is forthcoming. No such proof is available; on the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence in the commentary itself pointing to his Bengal origin. Only a few of the most important facts need be noted here for the satisfaction of the over-cautious.[7] (i) The Kara family to which

6 Lodhravalī the name of Cakrapāṇi's family is mentioned by Bharata-Mallika (*Candraprabhā*, p. 8, as one of the 8 aristocratic Vaidya families of Varendra: — वटग्राम-लोध्रवल्यौ शाण्डिल्ये दत्त-पत्तने।

7 Dr. S. K. De (*Hist. of Bengal*, I, p. 318) without apparently consulting any of their works feels uncertain if Vijayarakṣita, his two pupils Śrikaṇṭha and Niścala, as well as Aruṇadatta 'really belonged to Bengal' and according to him 'they are not independent writers of importance'! In the case of Niścala, the commentator of a decidedly Bengal work, Dr. De's statement that 'we have no proof' for the 'conjecture' of his Bengal origin is quite unwarranted. For, if any proof was at all necessary in the case of Niścala, he could consult the work of Niścala, which was available at Poona.

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Niścala belonged is mentioned as one of the Vaidya families of Bengal (*vide* Bharata-Mallika's *Candraprabhā*, pp. 7-9), who were the custodians of the Vaidyaka lore from ancient times. (ii) Niścala refers to the different localities of Bengal: e.g. राढीयास्त्वेवमाहुः—क्षीरदध्यादिसाधनविषयेयमिति (A 42b, P 59a), राढादिदेशख्याततैलमिदं बोध्यम् (P 220b), अत्रान्तरे राढादिदेशे सिद्धा योगाः सम्प्रति ते लिख्यन्ते (P 415a), यदुक्तं वङ्गदेशीयगन्धशास्त्रे (P 230a), त्वगादीति वङ्गदेशे ख्यातम् (P 255a). At the end of the chapter on fever a new medicine is thus introduced: सिद्धफलत्वात् पानीयवटिकात्र लिख्यते। अनाथनाथो जगदेकनाथः श्रीलोकनाथः प्रथमं प्रसन्नः। जगाद पानीयवटीं सुपट्टीं तामेव वक्ष्यामि गुरुप्रसादात् ॥ In the details that follow we have the interesting direction :—संपूज्य करुणाधारं प्रणम्य श्रीखसर्पणं। शरावे वारिणा पिष्ट्वा द्विस्त्रास्ता वटिकाः पिबेत् ॥ (A 50ab: P 70a changes the name of the Buddhist gods into श्रीसोमनाथ and महेश्वरं respectively). Now Khasarpana is the particular name of a form of the Buddhist god Lokanātha which was revealed to a devotee at a village of the same name in Lower Bengal: —"इह शुभङ्करनामा उपासकः...पोतलकगमनोद्यतः गच्छन् खाडीमण्डले खसर्पणनामा ग्रामोस्ति तत्रोषितः—प्रत्यादेशो दत्तः, मा गच्छ त्वमिहास्मान् वैरोचनाभिसंबोधितन्त्रराजक्रमेण स्थापय तेन महान् सत्त्वार्थो भविष्यति। तत्रासौ शीघ्रमेव कारितवान् इत्येषा श्रुतिः ॥" (*Sādhanamālā*, vol. I, pp. 42-3). Khāḍī is the name of a Pargana in the Diamond Harbour Subdivision of the district of 24-Parganas. (iii) Niścala in many cases has recorded the local names of medicinal herbs for identification; these also point to his Bengal origin (*vide Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, vol. 49, p. 104). (iv) In a few cases Niścala indirectly paid tribute to the memory of distinguished scholars of Bengal by adding eulogistic epithets: e.g. अत्र राढीयवैद्योपाध्यायः प्राज्ञस्त्रिलोचनदासस्त्वाह (A 134a, P 219a) and गौडेश्वरान्तरङ्ग-श्रीगयदासेन दर्शितम् (A 150a, P 240a).

Date of Niścala

In the preceding paragraph we have seen that Niścala as a physician treated a distinguished Buddhist scholar of the time and a tested medicine is prescribed by him to be taken after paying obeisance to a local Buddhist god Khasarpana. Similarly in the chapter on insanity he prescribes: —

(बो-)धिचर्य्यावतारोक्तं कामशोकादिनिन्दितं।
आतुरं श्रावयेद्धीमान् बोधयेच्च मुहुर्मुहुरिति ॥

and supports this peculiarly Buddhist method by a quotation

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from Dharmakīrti : —आचार्य्यधर्म्मकीर्त्तिनाप्युक्तं "कामशोकभयोन्मादस्वप्नचौर...।" (A. 117a : this folio is unfortunately torn in A and P altogether omit the passages as evidently repugnant to Hindu methods). A Buddhist incantation is also cited in the same chapter : —हृदयमन्त्रोयमप्यस्तु यथा, ॐ तारे उत्तारे तार(?)स्वाहेति (A 121a : also omitted in P). Niścala has a long note on the apparently ungrammatical phrase अष्टाविंशतिभिः कल्कैः found in a recipe of the same chapter and attempts to justify its use thus : —विंशत्यादयः स्वभावादेकत्वे वर्त्तते इत्यत्रापि व्यभिचारं दर्शयति, तथा चण्डिकायां पञ्चाशद्भिरथायुतैरिति। तथा बौद्धागमे असोघज्ञानतन्त्रेपि 'महता भिक्षुसंघेन सार्द्धमष्टादशभिर्भिक्षुसहस्रैः...। (A 117b, P 193-94). This interesting reference to Hindu and Buddhist scriptures side by side by a professedly Śaiva author is quite significant. There cannot be any doubt that Niścala flourished at a time when Buddhism was still reigning supreme and certainly before the Muslim armies destroyed the Buddhist universities of Bihar. This would place Niścala in the last quarter of the 12th century *at the latest*. Here we are confronted with the date ('about 1240 A.D.') assigned to Niścala's teacher Vijayarakṣita by no less an authority than the late Dr. Hoernle (*Studies in the medicine of Ancient India*, part I, Osteology, Oxford 1907, p. 17) and approvingly referred to by all later writers on the subject ever since (cf. *Hist. of Bengal*, I, p. 318). A glaring instance of an 'absolutely wrong and misleading' date given by Hoernle has been already noticed by Mr. Gode (*Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. VII, pp. 33-4). The date of Vijayarakṣita as suggested by Hoernle is on the face of it wrong. For there is a Ms. of Mādhava-Nidāna preserved in the R. A. S. B. containing a line by line Newari translation of the text which was copied in 331 N. E. Pauṣa Śudi 11 being a Monday (corresponding quite correctly to Dec. 27, 1210 A.D.) in the reign of a hitherto unknown monarch of Nepal named Jayaratnamalla : this Ms. (No. G. 4812) gives the name of the work in the colophon as *Śāstra-Madhukoṣa*, apparently after the name of Vijayarakṣita's commentary, though that commentary itself is neither copied nor translated in it. Vijaya belongs, therefore, to the 12th century at the latest. The evidence stated by Hoernle on his date turns out to be quite wrong on a closer examination. Vijaya, according to him, 'controverts a certain doctrine of Aruṇadatta regarding the structure of the eye' (*loc. cit.*, p. 17). The reference is to Śrīkaṇṭhadatta's portion

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(not Vijayarakṣita's) of the Madhukoṣa on the Mādhava-Nidāna under eye-troubles. Commenting on the line प्रथमे पटले दोषाः (clearly taken by Mādhava from *Suśruta*, Uttara, I. 6-7) Śrīkaṇṭha wrote :—प्रथमे पटले सर्व्वान्तरे पटले कालकास्थिसंश्रये, न तु बाह्ये, तत्र प्रथमं दोषलिङ्गानुपलब्धेः। The interpretation sought to be controverted here has not been referred to any previous author by name, far less to Aruṇadatta, whose gloss on the corresponding passage of Vāgbhaṭa (*Aṣṭāṅga-Hṛdaya*, Uttara, xii. 1) is too brief to be seriously considered. Vijaya and his pupil Śrīkaṇṭha are careful about the sources of their statements; they have nowhere cited Aruṇadatta directly or indirectly in their works. It is not generally noticed by scholars that Śrīkaṇṭha's commentary on Vṛnda's *Siddha-yoga* as printed in the Ānandāśrama series is really a revised version of a late writer named Nārāyaṇa, who collected additional notes from Dallaṇa's Bhāṣya etc. (भाष्याणि डल्लनादीनि बहूंश्चो वीक्ष्य यत्नतः। टीकापूर्त्तिं व्यधात् सम्यक्...p. 665). So the passages quoted from Dallaṇa, Aruṇadatta (pp. 111, 517, 659) and Hemādri presumably belong to Nārāyaṇa's interpolations. For, in the corresponding passages of Cakradatta all these interpolated notes are quite untraceable in the expansive commentary of Niścala. Śrīkaṇṭha's above note almost certainly refers to an old interpretation already controverted by Indu in the *Śaśilekhā* on *Aṣṭāṅga-Saṅgraha* (Uttara, xv. 1 :—"प्रथममाभ्यन्तरं न तु बाह्यं पटलम्...।" Trichur Ed., vol. III, 1924, p. 109. The Kairalī (?) commentary cited here goes deeper into the controversy with interesting details). Indu can never be supposed to be controverting Aruṇadatta here. Indu belonged to Kashmir as stated by him clearly (काश्मीरकाः वयमेतन्न विद्मः—vol. III, p. 423. We have corrected the wrong punctuation in print). Kṣīrasvāmin, also a Kashmirian, must be citing from the lost Nighaṇṭu of this Indu and not anybody else in his commentary on Amara. Similarly Aruṇadatta may be identical with the lexicographer of the same name cited by Sarvānanda. Even admitting for argument's sake that Śrīkaṇṭha does refer to Aruṇa in the above mentioned case, it has no direct bearing on Śrīkaṇṭha's date, as supposed by Hoernle. For, the date of Aruṇa worked out by him is quite wrong. The relevant facts about Aruṇa are collected below. The earliest writer to quote from him is Dallaṇa :—विगतरागे अक्षिणी भवत इति संग्रहारुणौ (under Kalpasthāna, Jiv. Ed., 1891, p. 870. Nirn. S. Ed., 1931, p. 503. Also Ms. No. 5251 R.A.S.B. fol. 5a). The passage is important as

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proving that like Indu Aruṇa commented on both the *Saṃgraha* and the *Hṛdaya*. Dallaṇa's date is about 1200 A.D., being cited by Hemādri and himself citing Halāyudha (Jiv. p. 335, N. S. p. 168), Medinī (Jiv. Ed., p. 48. Also Ms. No. 1540 D. R.A.S.B., fol. 49a—तथा च मेदिनी, कक्षा स्यादुत्तरीयस्य पश्चादश्वलपल्लवे। स्पर्धापदे ना दोर्मूले कच्छवीरुत्तृणेषु च॥ not found, however, in the Nirn. S. Ed., p. 20) and Śrīpati's *Jyotiṣa-Ratnamālā* (*ib.* p. 531; Nir. S. Ed., p. 285), which latter is comparatively a late writer. Aruṇa was a northerner, or he would not have ventured the sweeping assertion—दाक्षिणात्या हि मुखेन कुर्व्वन्ति तन्निषिध्यते (N. S. Ed., 1891, p. 67). He quotes a previous commentator named Bālāditya (p. 14) otherwise quite unknown. His quotations include two from Rudraṭa (pp. 4, 107), one from Udbhaṭa (p. 21) and one from Karṇāṭa (p. 74). He also cites the *Candrikā-vyakhyā* (p. 325). He indulges in advanced grammatical polemics e. g. on the compound word इन्द्रियदौर्बल्यम् (p. 21) and his interesting notes on prosody and rhetoric draw upon hitherto unknown sources (cf. definitions of different metres pp. 1, 68, 84, 99, 108-12, 325, 368, 417, 465; def. and illustration of Rūpaka p. 319 & def. of Vilāsa p. 356). Of the three commentators of the *Hṛdaya Candranandana* (rather a rare name and cited by Kṣīrasvāmin) apparently preceded Aruṇa (*vide* Aruṇa's gloss, केचित्तु आमपीनस इति पीनसविशेषणमामशब्दमाहुः, तैरजीर्ण उष्णाम्बु नोक्तं स्यात्। p. 33: a clear reference to the *Padārthacandrikā* of Candranandana—आमं च तत् पीनसं चामपीनसं—*Aṣṭāṅga-Hṛdaya*, Sūtrasthāna, with 3 comm., Venkat. Press, Bombay, 1921, p. 103). Aruṇa, therefore, flourished about 1150 A. D. (after Niścala and Śrīkaṇṭha who did not cite him).

Dr. Hoernle suggested his scheme of chronology on a more definite piece of evidence as follows: 'Moreover, Vijaya Rakṣita quotes Guṇākara who wrote the *Yogaratnamālā* in 1239 A. D. (Information by letter from Dr. P. Cordier). Accordingly we obtain the following approximate dates: Aruṇadatta, about 1220 A. D.; Vijaya Rakṣita, about 1240 A. D.; Vācaspati, about 1260 A. D.' (p. 17)

The passage of the *Madhukoṣa* runs: कुक्षेराटोपः गुडगुडाशब्द इति चक्रः (from Cakrapāṇi's *Carakaṭīkā*, Lahore Ed., 1940, p. 479), तनतनमिति गुणाकरः, रुजापूर्वकः क्षोभ इति गदाधरः। Niścala also comments on the word thus: आटोपो रुजापूर्वकः क्षोभ इति चन्द्रिका। क्षोभश्चात्र चलनम्। उदरे तनतनिति (P तनतनमिति) गुणाकरः, गुडगुडाशब्द इति चक्रः। (A 52b, P 73a) There is another quotation from Guṇākara in Niścala's work—अत्र तु

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क्षीरानियमः आहारत्वादिति गुणाकरः (P 267a). Dr. Cordier's identification of this medical authority Guṇākara with a Jaina scholar सिद्धघटीय-श्वेताम्बरपण्डित श्रीगुणाकर who wrote a Vṛtti in 1296 V. S. (1239-40 A. D.) on Nāgārjuna's *Yogaratnamālā*, a work on 'magical rites, incantations and sorcery' (L. 1954, Oxf., pp. 322-4. Also Peterson's *3rd Rep.*, 1884-86, App., p. 313) is on the face of it wrong. As a matter of fact the two above quotations of the former are not traceable in the latter work (Ms. Nos. 1639 & 1400 of R.A.S.B.). Dr. Hoernle's scheme of chronology is equally wrong. Vijaya Rakṣita of Bengal could not possibly refer by name to the Jaina scholar evidently of Western India before 1260 A. D. and Niścala, who wrote after the death of Vijaya, must then be placed in 1280-1300 A. D., when Buddhism had disappeared from Bengal.

Fortunately for us Niścala has recorded an important and interesting clue to his date. In the chapter on Kuṣṭha there is an important recipe named 'Pañcanimba'; Niścala explains—मधुना कफपित्तप्राये, वायुपित्तप्राये तिक्तहविषा वक्ष्यमाणतिक्तकादिधृतेन, खदिरासनवारिणेति व्याधिप्रत्यनीकतया। तत्र खदिरवारि पुटदग्धखदिरतनुमूलपरिश्रुतरसः, ततक्काथो वा असनवारि असनक्काथ एवेति वृद्धाः। उष्णाम्बुनेति वातश्लेष्मप्राय इति बोध्यम्। कामरूपदेशी(य)भूपालप्रवेशाय धवलगृहपर्यन्तमुपगम्य आगच्छद्भिरारोग्यशालाभिषङ्गमहासत्रमण्डपेऽभीष्टफलप्रदमिष्टदैवत-मभ्यर्च्चयितुं तिष्ठद्भिरखिललक्ष्मीपालमौलिमाला(माणिक्य)श्रेणिकिरणनिकरशारदाम्भोज-प्राग्भारक्षालितचरणतलश्रीरामपालदेवैरप्ययमर्थः सप्रपञ्चमभ्युपग(त)ः। (P 1 & P 2 fol. 402a: the copyists' errors are not shown in details). Niścala gives here a vivid and flowery description of the august occasion when king Rāmapāla gave audience to the king of Kāmarūpa. There is no doubt that the author was present on the occasion evidently in the 'Ārogyaśālā', which was almost certainly in charge of his teacher Vijayarakṣita. For, in some old copies of the *Madhukoṣa* the colophon runs:—इति श्रीमदारोग्यशालीयवैद्यपति-विजयरक्षितविरचितो व्याख्यामधुकोषः समाप्तः। (cf. *Des. Cat.* B.O.R.I., Vaidyaka, p. 179—Ms. of 1420 V.S.; R.L. Mitra: *Bikaner Catalogue*, p. 649, the copy was dated 1536 Śaka). The panegyric epithets prove that the monarch was still alive when Niścala wrote his commentary. Rāmapāla who had a long reign of at least 42 years becomes, therefore, the patron of both Vijayarakṣita, the Superintendent of the Royal Hospital and of his pupil Niścala, the physician of the Royal harem.

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Date of Rāmapāla

Niścala's date depends thus on the date of his patron Rāmapāla. The manner of Rāmapāla's death is correctly recorded in a verse of the *Sekaśubhodayā*; it occurred in Āśvina, *badi* 14, Thursday in a Śaka year, ending with the number 2 (*yugma*). We had calculated long ago that this happened in the forenoon of September 23, 1120 A.D. (*I.H.Q.* III, p. 583).[8] Rāmapāla's reign can thus be fixed at 1078-1120 A.D. (*ib.*, p. 584 : also *Hist. of Bengal*, I, pp. 180-81). Niścala must, then, have written his great work within the decade 1110-20 A. D. and we are now happily in possession of a *terminus ad quem* fixed at the very convenient date 1100 A. D. for all the numerous authors and works cited by him.

Date of Cakrapāṇi

All previous conjectures about the date of Cakrapāṇi have got now to be revised under this new light. According to the current reading of the colophon of Cakradatta's *Saṅgraha* (गौड़ाधिनाथरामवल्यधिकारि-पात्र-नारायणस्य तनयः...) and Śivadāsa's interpretation of it, Cakrapāṇi's father Nārāyaṇa was a minister of king Nayapāla (1038-55 A.D.). Cakrapāṇi himself must then be living about 1075 A.D. and Niścala-

8 The verse of the *Sekaśubhodayā* runs as follows :—

शाके युग्मरेणुरन्ध्रगते कन्यां गते भास्करे
कृष्णे वाक्पतिवासरे यमतिथौ यामद्वये वासरे ।
जाह्नव्यां जलमध्यतस्त्वनशनैर्ध्यात्वा पदं चक्रिणो
हा पा(ला)न्वयमौलिमण्डनमणि(:) श्रीरामपालो मृतः ॥

This fine Śārdūlavikridita stanza in a mass of 'barbarous Sanskrit-Bengali jargon' (*Hist. of Bengal*, I, p. 380 fn.) should be regarded as genuine. The statement of drowning in the Ganges is exactly corroborated by the subsequent discovery of the *Rāmacarita*. Though the faulty reading of the year gives no consistent date the details that follow are quite intelligible and workable with the help of astronomical tables. We arrived at the above date, not certainly by emendation of the passage as wrongly stated (*ib.*, p. 181), but by calculations with such tables. The emendation suggested may be rejected or improved, but the date worked out stands on sure ground and cannot be lightly dismissed. It is a pity that while Cunningham, Venis, Kielhorn and other European scholars consulted the astronomical tables whenever they came across such workable data, distinguished Indian scholars in the same field have not given due consideration to this aspect of chronological problems.

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kara must have seen him alive in his boyhood. But in his commentary Niścala nowhere suggests that he had personal contact with the great author. The following passages prove that Niścala was removed by some length of time even from Cakrapāṇi's disciples, whose views he has sometimes criticised.

हिङ्गुष्टके अजमोदा यमानी...भक्षादिविषये उद्वर्त्तनादौ पुनरजमोदैव।...अतएव चक्रशिष्या (आ)हुः "अन्तःसंमार्जने प्रायो अजमोदा यमानिका। बहिःसंमार्जने प्राह्या अजमोदाजमोदिका॥" (cf. Śivadāsa. A fol. 74, P. fol. 124a with the reading शिष्टाः प्राहुः). व्यवहारश्चायमत एव चक्रशिष्याणाम् (A 82a).

तगरं तगरपादिका, तदभावे शियालिआद्यौष्पड़ इति चक्रादयः तगरमिति क्लीवनिर्देशात्। अतएव तच्छिष्या आहुः—'प्रायो नपुंसकं ग्राह्यं तगरं तगरपादिका। पुंलिङ्गेन तु निर्देशे तगरस्तगराह्वयः॥" इति। (A fol. 133a, P 215a)

इष्टकेत्यादि सुश्रुतस्य, परन्त्वत्र मूत्रैरुष्णैरिति पठ्यते।...संग्रहे तु पठ्यते मूत्रापिष्टैरिति। वदन्ति च संग्रहव्याख्यातारः, इष्टकाया रजो लोहस्यापि मूत्रञ्च पेषणार्थम्...तस्मात् संग्रहे काल्पनिकः पाठः। (A fol 220a)

Under the circumstances the current reading of the colophon should be rejected in favour of the following, which is also warranted by Ms. copies: —गौड़ाधिनाथरसवत्यधिकारिपाल्', नारायणस्य तनयः.....(*vide* Peterson's *Ulwar Cat.*, 1892, p. 154). It should be noticed that the former reading, where the descriptive epithet is compounded with the proper name, is open to the rhetorical fault technically called विधेयाविमर्श, while the present reading is faultless. Thus Cakrapāṇi himself and not his father was the Superintendent of the Royal kitchen of king Nayapāla and his elder brother was the Royal physician (अन्तरङ्ग) of the same monarch. It can, therefore, be definitely stated now that Cakrapāṇi wrote his compendium in the decade 1043-50 A.D.

Sources of Cakrapāṇi

Niścala attempted to trace the very large number of formulas collected by Cakrapāṇi to their original sources and much of this mass of bibliographical matter has been left out by Śivadāsa. The words changed or added by Cakrapāṇi have been carefully noted as well as those formulas which are not to be found in Vṛndakuṇḍa's *Siddhayoga*; the phrases वृन्दे नास्ति, वृन्दतोऽधिकम् are often found in the commentary. Cakrapāṇi's rivalry with Vṛnda, whose book must have been the most popular compendium in Bengal before it was ousted by the former's

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work, is also evident from the interesting imprecation uttered by Cakrapāṇi at the end :

यः सिद्धयोगलिखिताधिकसिद्धयोगान्
तत्रैव निःक्षिपति केवलमुद्धरेद्वा ।
भट्टत्रयक्षिपथवेदविदा जनेन
दत्तः पतेत् सपदि मूर्धनि तस्य शापः ॥

An alphabetical list of the books and authors from whom Cakrapāṇi borrowed according to Niścala is given below.

Agniveśa, Amitaprabha, *Amṛtamālā*, *Aśvavaidyaka* (A 133b : the famous Mahānārāyaṇa-tailam under Vātavyādhi), *Aśvinīkumāra-saṃhitā*, Ātreya, *Āyurvedasāra*, Ugrasena Sena (P 378a), Kālapāda, Kṛṣṇātreya, Kṣārapāṇī Kharanāda,, *Gandhaśāstra* (P 460a), Caraka, *Carakottaratantra*, Cakṣuṣyeṇa, Candraṭa, *Cikitsākalikā*, *Cikitsātiśaya*, Jatūkarṇa Tīsaṭa, Dṛḍhabala, *Dhanurveda* (A 233a, P 215a : the famous Nārāyaṇa-tailam), Nāgārjuna, *Nāvanītaka-saṃhitā*, Parāśara,, Puṣkalāvata, Pṛthvīsiṃha, *Vṛhattantrapradīpa*, (P270b), Bhadravarman, Bhāluki ((A 36b), *Bhiṣagmuṣṭi*, Bhela, Bhoja, Mādhavakara, *Yogapañcāśikā*, *Yogayukti*, *Yogaśata*, *Ratnamālā*, Ravigupta, *Lohaśāstra* (P 262b), Vāgbhaṭa, Vindusāra, *Vṛddha-Vāghbhaṭa*, *Vṛddha- Videha*, *Vṛddha-Suśruta*, *Vyagradaridra-śubhaṅkara* by Cakrapāṇi himself, Śālihotra, *Śivasiddhānta*, Śaunaka, *Siddhayoga*, *Siddhasāra*, Suśruta, *Sūdaśāstra* by king Nala, *Svalpa-Vāgbhaṭa*, *Haramekhalā*, Hārita.

Authorities cited by Niścalakara

These are alphabetically arranged with short notes from the vast materials left by Niścala and from other up-to-date sources.

Acyuta, : author of *Āyurvedasāra* (q. v.).

Agniveśa : different from Caraka. यदाह अग्निवेशः, क्वाथ्यमानन्तु यत्तोयं निष्फेनं निर्म्मलीकृतं । भवत्यर्द्धावशिष्टञ्च तदुष्णोदकमुच्यते ॥ (A 10b) अग्निवेशोप्याह, अपथ्यञ्च प्रियञ्चान्यं पथ्यञ्चाप्रियमेव च । संस्कारेण ततः कार्यं पथ्यत्वं कार्यसिद्धये ॥ (A 16a) Also A 19b. Cakra borrows a line from him (A 18b).

Amitaprabha : many formulas of Cakra are ascribed to him by Niścala (A 24a, 78b, 80b &c.). Some of these formulas are found also in Vṛnda (e. g. i. 95 & 100, pp. 30-31). Candraṭa in his *Yogaratnasamuccaya* borrows from him (*vide* fol. 9b, 10b, &c. of Ms. No. G. 5168 R.A.S.B.—a unique copy where

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the sources of Candrata are given clearly in red ink). So he is an ancient writer; in one place Niścala mentions him along with two others most probably in the chronological order (अत्र ध्वंसोति शास्त्रान्तर-सिद्धा मानसंज्ञे ति दृढ़बलोऽमितप्रभो जेज्जटश्च A 23a), It is, therefore, doubtful if he is identical with Amrtaprabha, the author and commentator of a short *Yogaśata* (Ms. No. G. 4697 B, R.A.S.B.). Besides a metrical treatise on therapy Amitaprabha wrote a commentary on Caraka named *Carakanyāsa*, from which the following important passage is cited by Niścala: (P. 618ab) अस्मिन्नेवार्थे पूर्वाचार्या... । तत्र युग्मानिति वातोपशमनार्थमेवाह । एवं युग्मदाननिषेधार्थं । अत एकवस्तिदानं चानवद्यमिति प्रपेदिरे मैत्र्याः । अयुग्मानिति बहुत्वाभिधायीति...वैष्णवाः । एतच्च सामान्यवस्ति-विषयमित्यन्ये । वीरचर्म्याः (?) पुनर्निरूहदानार्थमित्याहुः । पितामहादिविषयभेदार्थमित्यचु-रुदोच्याः । पूर्वोत्तरकालभेदादित्यादि आचक्षिरे दाक्षिणात्याः इत्यमितप्रभस्य चरकन्यास(:)। (re. *Caraka*, Lahore Ed., 1941, p. 1621, vol. II). The reference to so many early schools of interpretation even upon Drdhabala's part of Caraka is very important.

Amrtaghata (A 2a, *vide* beginning of Niścala's comm. quoted above).

Amrtamālā: a few formulas of Cakra (and Vrnda, xxiii, 10, 12, 16, pp. 223-24) are ascribed to this book by Niścala (A 150b, 151ab). Candrata also borrows from it (fol. 11a and 16a of Gadaśāntyadhikāra). See also A 197a, P 393a, 409b &c.

Amrtavallī (by Śrīkantha): a metrical treatise cited by Niścala (A 64b, 104a—a verse in Śārdūlavikrīdita, 211b, P. 302-3, 369b &c). The name of the author is stated in the following passage: (P 413a) एतदखिलममृतवल्यां श्रीकण्ठो यदाह, अन्यत्रे.....संशुद्धिं बहु कारयेदिह मृदुं शेषस्तथा निर्हरेदिति । This Śrīkantha is evidently different from Niścala's fellow pupil Śrīkantha Datta whose glosses on Vrnda and Mādhava-Nidāna are not referred to by name anywhere by Niścala. Moreover, the above cited passage occurs in Niścala's gloss on the first verse of the chapter on Amlapitta, where the slight change in reading adopted by Cakra in preference to Vrnda's reading (p. 388) is explained in a long and interesting note without any reference to Śrīkantha Datta's brief comment on the point.

Amrtasāra: पत्त्रादुपरि अमृतसारोक्तविधिनैव योज्यम् (A 72b), a book on Lohaśāstra probably.

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Amoghajñānatantra: a Buddhist scripture, the passage is cited above (A 117b).

Aśvavaidyaka: शतावरीत्यादि अश्ववैद्यकस्य (A 133b), the same formula is found also in Vṛnda's *Siddhayoga* (xx. 104-13, pp. 212-13).

Aśvinīsaṃhitā: P 435a.

Ātreya: तथा शीतकषायविधौ भगवानात्रेयः, द्रव्यादापोत्थिता तोये...(P 91b, but A 59b reads कृष्णात्रेयः).

Āyurvedaprakāśa: सुश्रुते तु तद्दुःखसंयोगा व्याधय इति, तस्य पुरुषस्य दुःखाय संयोगो येषां ते तथेत्यर्थः इति चन्द्रिकादयः । अतएव तत्र पुरुषसम्बन्धिनो हेतवो व्याधय इति आयुर्वेदप्रकाशः । (A 2b)

Āyurvedasāra by Acyuta: a metrical treatise frequently cited by Niścala (A 24a, 45b, 58a &c). The name of the author is mentioned in one place—आयुर्वेदसारे अच्युतोपि (A 45b, P 64a). It is one of the sources of Cakra (A 58a &c), Vṛnda (e.g. iv. 1, p. 82) and Candraṭa (अच्युतात् fol. 77b of Gadaśānti part of *Yogaratnasamuccaya*).

Āṣāḍhavarman: one of the earliest commentators on Caraka preceding both Cakrapāṇi (Lahore ed., vol. II, p. 1622) and Jejjaṭa (*ib.*, pp. 900, 934 & 959); cited by Niścala (P 604ab & 618b—in the latter passage the name of his commentary was given in a mutilated form as आत्रे...उरिकायां (?) आषाढ़वर्मा यथा cf. Cakrapāṇi p. 1622).

Indumatī: a commentary on Vāgbhaṭa (A 5b, 81a, 82b, 94b, 99a, 107b, 133b, 211a, P 431a & 433a). It is identical with the *Śaśilekhā* commentary by Indu on Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha*, as most of the passages are traceable in the latter: e. g. अतिविषा अन्यतमस्यार्धेनेति तत्र इन्दुमती (A 81a, cf. *Śaśilekhā*, Trichur Ed. vol. II, p. 248) अत्रेन्दुमती, मण्डूरं लोहमलं, सर्वत इति मण्डूरसहितचूर्णात् अष्टगुणं गोमूत्रं । अस्मिं श्च वटकसंपादनयोग्ये व्यूषणादिचूर्णं प्रक्षेप्तव्यमिति । (A 82b, *Śaśilekhā*, II, p. 249) एवं वाभटेपीन्दुमतो यदुक्तं, बलादिद्रव्यं लाभात् (?) हस्वपञ्चमूलादिकं पञ्चक्षीरवृक्षशुङ्गा नित्यन्तं पलिकं पानीयपलशतद्वयं साष्टपलं क्वथितं शेषं द्वादशपलानीत्यादि । (A 94b, *Śaśilekhā*, II, p 134) एवमष्टपवाभटेपि 'दशमूलकषायस्य...' (*Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, 1891, p 410), वृद्धवाभटे च क्विच्च-शब्दो नास्ति । तथाहि, दशमूलक्वाथकंसे...हरीतक्या इत्यादि (*Aṣṭāṅgasaṅ. graha* II, 255). अत्रेन्दुमती, अगस्त्यहरीतक्यादिवदवच्छिन्नपारम्पर्येण त्रिकटुकादिचूर्णं तथा प्रक्षिपेद्यथा लेहता न नश्यतीति । (ib., *Śaśilekhā*). The variation in readings is too slight for questioning the identifications. Only two passages (A 133b & P 433a) we are unable to trace, but the *Śaśilekhā* was printed, it should be noticed, with imperfect manuscripts. It is very curious that Niścala has nowhere mentioned the name of the

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author Indu or of the current name *Śaśilekha*, while the name Indumati itself is quite unknown. It is now proved beyond any question that Indu lived in the 11th century at the latest. This Indu, who belonged to Kashmir, cannot be identical with Indukara, the father of Mādhavakara, who belonged to Eastern India.

Īśānadeva: A 12a, 13b &c., a commentator on Caraka (cf. अयं पक्ष ईशानस्यापि लक्ष्यते सुबोधत्वेनाव्याख्यानादिति A 200b, P 335b), also cited in the *Madhukoṣa*. The full name is found only in A 12a, suggesting that 'Deva' was probably his family title.

Īśvarasena: another commentator on Caraka, also cited in the *Madhukoṣa*, Cakrapāṇi's *Carakaṭīkā* (vol. II, p. 1620) and Niścala (A 21a—a typical passage displaying the latter's range of studies—अनयैव दिशा कपिलवलित-वाभट-रविगुप्त-ईश्वरसेन गदाधर-गोवर्द्धन-चक्रदत्त-वकुलकर-प्रभृतयो व्यवस्थिताः: this fine list is evidently in a chronological order. Also A 119a).

Ujjvalakoṣa: a rare quotation from this lexicon is found in P 203a:—उज्ज्वलकोषे तु शाणपर्य्यायो धरणः पठ्यते ।

Uttarakārikā: P 604a (उत्तरकारिकायामप्युक्तं...)

Umāpati: अन्तरङ्ग उमापतिस्त्वाह, चत्वारो मापका हीने मध्यमे चाष्टमापकाः । श्रेष्ठे द्वादशकाः प्रोक्ताः कोष्ठं विज्ञाय तत्त्रिधा ॥ इति । एतत्तु न युक्तं...(A 155b, P 251a). The epithet 'antaraṅga' (cf. Śivadāsa's note at the end of his commentary on Cakradatta, most probably taken from Niścala विद्याकुलसम्पन्नो हि भिषगन्तरङ्ग इत्युच्यते) proves that Umāpati was a distinguished physician of Bengal in the 11th century. He should not be confused with Umāpatidhara (12th century) or with the grammarian Umāpati of the Kalāpa school (14th century).

Kapila: A 21a, 23b. Father of Dṛḍhabala.

Karavīra: P 401a, an ancient Ācārya.

Karmadaṇḍī (by Jinadāsa): A 13b—कर्मदण्ड्यां जिनदासः पुनर्यदपस्मित्यादेर मूलत्वं दोषमभिधाय जेज्जडेनोपोद्घातोल्लिखितमेव क्षारपाणिवचः प्रमाणयति । Also A 26b.

Karmamālā (by Akṣadeva): P 153b. विभागकर्मोऽक्षदेवीयकर्ममालायां ।

Karmamālā:—Govardhana's commentary on *Yogaśat.*—A 69a, 87a, 186a &c.

Kalahadāsa: A 22a—तत्र कलहदासः स्वपरिभाषायां पूर्वार्द्धं गृहीत्वा समस्यां लिखति । तत्रोत्तरार्द्धं यथा, कालिङ्गं सौश्रुतं मानं मागधं चरकोदितमिति ।

Kalyāṇasiddhi: A 92a, 95b. A metrical treatise.

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Kāṅkāyana: A 157a, an ancient Ācārya.

Kālapāda: P 582a.

Kāmarūpa: mentioned in P 240b.

Kāmaśāstra: A 114b (an Āryā).

Kālidāsa, the poet: P 461b.

Kārtikakuṇḍa or simply Kārtika, very often from A 13a. This famous commentator on Suśruta is frequently and respectfully cited by Dallaṇa ('Kārtikakuṇḍācārya' p. 1109 &c., 'Kārtikācārya' p. 1169 of Jīvānanda's Ed., 1891) and once by Cakrapāṇi in the *Bhānumatī* (p. 237 of Agra Ed. of *Suśruta with Bhānumatī*). He preceded, according to Śrikaṇṭhadatta (*Vṛndaṭīkā*, p. 162), Vṛndakuṇḍa. Both of them, as their common family title proves, belonged to a Vaidya family of Bengal.

Kāsmīrāḥ: A 65b, 87a, 195a, 200b, P 391b.

Kāśyapa: P 591b.

Kṛṣṇātreya: A 20a &c.

Kaumudī (by Govardhana): A 211a—तत्र कौमुद्यां गोवर्द्धनः पुनराह, यन्माधवादिभिर्व्याख्यातं तन्न शोभनं...इति जेज्जडव्याख्यैव श्रेयसीति।

Kauśika: P 70a.

Kṣārapāṇi: very often.

Kharanāda: A 12a, 13a &c.

Gadādhara: A 21a (v. Īśvarasena above) &c. A long note ('paṭrikā') of his on the preparation of a medicinal oil is found in the chapter on Vātavyādhi with an interesting colophon: (A 139b-140) अतोप्यधिकमन्ये, मुराखट्टासकर्कटमदनं देवपुष्पिका। एलाचेत्यधिकं ब्रूते चक्रोदितात् गदाधरः॥ अस्यैव पत्रिका क्रमेण लिख्यते...इत्यन्तरङ्गगदाधरदासस्य राजप्रसारणीपाककमः। (P 228a gives a wrong reading of the name इत्यन्तरङ्गयदासस्य). This Gadādhara of the 'Dāsa' family preceded Cakrapāṇi, as clearly stated by Niścala in his gloss on Bhṛṅgarājataila under Kṣudraroga:—भृङ्गराजादिकमवाप्तीति मत्वर्थीय इति तैलविशेषणमिदं गदाधर-नरदेवाद्युपदेशपरम्परेति चक्रः। इदमशब्दादनादृत्य वकुलस्त्वाह...(P 438a cf. how Śivadāsa has reproduced the gloss after ruthlessly cutting down the important references). This Gadādhara must not be confused with the father of Vaṅgasena who was not a 'Dāsa'. The name of Gadādhara's treatise was '*Vaidyaprasāraka*' (cf. P 60a वैद्यप्रसारके गदाधरादयस्तु).

Gandhatattva: A 144. P reads *Gandhatantra*, 231a.

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Gandhaśāstra: P 229a ('Bhavadevīya'), 229b & 230ab ('Vaṅgadeśīya').

Gandhaśāstra-Nighaṇṭu: P 229a.

Gayadāsa: A 97b, 150a, P 226ab &c. a distinguished commentator on Caraka aud Suśruta. His commentary on Caraka remains yet to be discovered, though his fragment on Suśruta has been printed.

Guṇākara: P 73a & 267a.

Gopati: A 94b—एवं मिलित्वा विदार्यादिजरसयोरिति द्विगुणपाक्षे व्यवहारीति वैद्यसारे गोवर्द्धनो माधवकरो गोपतिश्च एवं वाभटेपीन्दुमती...(under सर्पिर्गुड in the chapter on Yakṣma. cf. Śivadāsa removing all the proper names. P 159a reads मुनिश्च for गोपतिश्च).

Guravaḥ i.e. Vijaya Rakṣita: A 42b, 59b &c.

Gopurarakṣita: A 19b, an ancient Ācārya.

Govardhana: often from A 14a. One of the most distinguished authorities of Niścala and a prolific writer and commentator. He was one of the sources of Cakrapāṇi (*vide* A 54a—चक्रः रत्नमालोक्त' लिखति तक्रमित्यादि under Atisāra. *Ratnamālā* is a work of Govardhana, A 20b). The discovery of this long lost name in Niścala with numerous quotations from his works makes important addition to our knowledge of medieval Vaidyaka literature. Govardhana was later than Mādhavakara (A 211a).

Gauḍāh: A 26a, P 392a.

Cakra or Cakrapāṇi: very often.

Cakṣuḥsena (P reads-syena): A 27a &c. An ancient writer and one of the sources of Cakra (A 214a).

Candana: P 415a चन्दनप्रभृतयः

Candrakalā: a commentary on *Yogaśata* (A 55a). A Nepal Ms. (*Darbar Cat.*, II, 1915, p. 78) ascribes it to Dhruvapāda and the text to Nāgārjuna.

Candraṭa: almost on every page.

Candrikā: the famous commentary on Suśruta (by Gayadāsa), often.

Caraka: most often.

Caraka-Pariśiṣṭa: A30a.

Carakottaratantra: P 20a.

Cikitsākalikā (by Tīṣaṭa): A 6a, 201a.

Cikitsātiśaya: A69b. 109b. Preceded Amitaprabha (cf. तोय इत्यादि-चारः ख्यातः चिकित्सातिशयाख्यग्रन्थस्यामितप्रभे लिखितः A 69b, P 116b).

Cikitsāśraya: A 150b.

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Jatūkarṇa: very often.

Jinadāsa: A 8a, 13b &c.

Jīvanātha: P 153b—अतएव जीवनाथलौहशास्त्रे खल्पखण्डखाद्ये "लौहसमं तथा खण्डम्" इत्यस्ति।

Jejjaḍa: most often from A 7a. P invariably reads Jejjaṭa and the fragment printed in the Lahore Ed. of the Caraka has in the colophon the form Jajjaṭa. One of the greatest Vaidyaka authorities in India; his commentary on Suśruta remains yet to be discovered.

Jñānaśrī: Niścala's authority on prosody. The quotations are given below; he may be identical with the great Buddhist scholar of the same name.

कृष्णालवणमित्यपपाठः कृष्णलवणमिति हारीतपाठात्। एवं चन्द्रटेपि पठ्यते। छन्दोभङ्गोपि न शङ्क्यः अनन्तत्वात् पद्यमार्गस्य। यदाह ज्ञानश्रीः, अनन्तः पद्यमार्गोयं पाठः शोभयेति (?)। पिङ्गलोपि छन्दसामन्तं जगाम। स हि प्रस्तारप्रसक्तः सरित्या-निपातात् मकरव्यतिकरात् पर्यवसितः। तदुक्तं, छन्दोज्ञाननिधिं जघान मकरो वेलातटे पिङ्गलं, सिंहो व्याकरणस्य कर्त्तुरहरत् प्राणान् प्रियान् पाणिनेः। मीमांसाकृतमुन्ममाथ तरसा हस्ती वने जैमिनिम्, अज्ञानावृतचेतसामतिरुषां कोर्थस्तिरश्चां गुणैः॥ (under Śūla, P 257ab)

वेल्लिनाख्यमिदं वृत्तम्। यदाह ज्ञानश्रीः, "वाणर्त्तुच्छेदे कुसुमितलतावेष्टिता वर्णितेयम्" इति। (at the end of the chap. on Sotha, P 352a. The verse taken from Caraka exhibits a very rare metre)

तथा घृतं चेति पाठः। अन्यथा वृत्तिभङ्गः। वृ(त्तं)च शालिनी। ज्ञानश्रीर्यथा, "वेदच्छेदे शालिनीयं प्रसिद्धा" इति। (P 472ab. Aruṇadatta p. 108 cites a different and better authority.) The name of Jñānaśrī's book may be '*Bālasarasvatī*' cited elsewhere.

Tattvakalikā: P 368a, 370a (a metrical treatise).

Tantrapradīpa (Bṛhat): P 270b, 271a—one of the sources of Cakra. Must not be confused with the grammatical work of the same name by Rakṣita.

Do-*Ṭīkā*: (by Govardhana) A 37b—कृताञ्जलिः लाजालुआक् इति बृहत्तन्त्र-प्रदीपटीकायां गोवर्द्धनः। Also A 52a.

Tīṣaṭa: A 5b, 11a &c.

Trilocanadāsa: A 134b, P 219a—अतो माषादिक्काथप्रस्थाः षट् विभक्तयन्त-त्वात् अतएव वक्ष्यति क्काथप्रस्था इत्यादीति चक्रः। अत्र राढ़ीयवैद्योपाध्यायः प्राज्ञस्त्रिलोचन-दासस्त्वाह, विभक्तयन्तत्वेपि पृथक् पदाद् यवादीनां प्रत्येकं प्रस्थमानानां क्काथः अतोऽष्टौ (क्काथ-) प्रस्था इति। तत्र...तस्माद् युक्तमेवोक्तं चक्रादिभिरिति। (Bṛhanmāṣataila under Vātavyādhi). This important quotation proves that Trilocanadāsa, evidently identical with the famous author of the *Kātantrapañjikā*, was

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a native of Rāḍha in Bengal and flourished about 1075 A.D. after Cakra and before Niścala. He was also a medical authority in his days, though his medical work has not survived.

Daṇḍī : the rhetorician. A 2a.

Dāruvāha : P 20b.

Dīpikā : A 17a &c. often. This is Cakra's commentary on Caraka.

Dṛḍhabala : A 12a &c. often.

Dentaka (a Southerner) : P 238a.

Dravyaguṇa (by Mādhavakara) : A 15a.

Dravyāvalī : medical lexicon, often from A 61a.

Dhanurveda : A 133a.

Dharaṇīdhara : lexicographer A 97b, 197b &c.

Dharmakīrti : Buddhist Ācārya (A 117a, the passage is cited above).

Nandanacanda : A 24a अत्र शम्पाकफलं शोनालुफलं तस्य मज्जाभागः प्रक्षेप्य इति नन्दनचन्दः, अयं पक्षः प्रचारी। (under a passage of Amitaprabha in the chapter on fever. Śivadāsa, as usual, substitutes 'kecit' for the rare name recorded by Niścala.)

Naradatta : A 219a (teacher of Cakra).

Nalanṛpa : P 95a, author of *Sūdaśāstra*.

Naradeva : P 438a (v. under Gadādhara), probably identical with Naradatta.

Nāgatantra : A 106b. Also *Nāgabhaṭṭatantra*, P. 409b. &c. and *-bhartṛtantra* A 56b.

Nāgadeva : P 448b—एतच्च सर्वं नागदेवचक्रादिभिः विवृतम्।

Nāgārjuna : often from A 74a. Mostly referred to as 'Muni'.

Nānārtha : A 205b (*re* विशाखा), P 323ab—यदुक्तं नानार्थः, कषायो रुधिरे वेष्टे रसभेदे सुगन्धके। क्काथ्यद्रव्येक्षुरागे च शोणितामे च समसु॥ The reference is not to any of the well known lexicons of Amara, Maheśvara, Hemacandra &c. Śivadāsa substitute this with a line from *Medinī*. It is an indirect proof that Niścala was not later in date than Maheśvara and Medinī.

Nānābidhāna : P 298a, another old lexicon.

Nāvanita : A 101a—यदुक्तं नावनीते, निदिग्धिकायाः स्वरसं...2 verses (one of which is cited by Śivadāsa) found in the Bower Ms. of the work II. 53-4 (Lahore Ed., p. 36-37). Also A 107a, P. 222b,

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404a, 404-5a etc. and 475a *Nāvanītaka-saṃhitā*). The book was quite popular till the time of Niścala and was cited by Candraṭa also (the R.A.S.B. Ms. reading the name as Nāmanītaka).

Nyāyasārāvali (by Govardhana): A 69b, 92a &c. (P reads śāradi 155a). In the first passage Govardhana criticises Vṛnda, who preceded him:—तोये षड्गुण इति योज्यं योगतन्त्रयुक्त्या...इति माधवाद्याः। अतएव वृन्दकुण्डोप्याह (Poona Ed., p. 104) "द्वैगुण्यन्नाढ़केप्यत्र भागमात्रोपलक्षणाद्" इत्यादि। अत्रोपालम्भो न्यायसारावल्यां गोवर्द्धनस्य वाक्यं, ते वठोरावष्टब्धदृशो मनसापि न पश्यन्ति क्षारस्य शुष्कद्रव्यस्य...According to Śrīkaṇṭha, however, the quarrel is between the two commentators of Suśruta.

Parāśara: P 622a &c.

Pāribhāṣāvali (by Govardhana): P 146a (but A 84a reads *Nyāyasārāvali*.

Piṅgala: P 257a.

Pālapaula: P 5a (A 7a Pākala? Pālakāpya).

Putrotsavāloka: A 92b &c.

Puṣkalāvata: A 20b.

Pṛthvīsiṃha: A 144ab, P 229-33. One of the sources of Cakra and a great authority on Gandhaśāstra.

Prabhākarāḥ: P 153b (see Vararuci).

Praśnasahasravidhāna (by Mādhavakara): A 124b, 16b. A reference to Vijaya-Rakṣita's gloss on Nidāna (I. 12...विस्तरस्तु सुश्रुतश्लोकवार्त्तिके प्रश्नविधानाख्ये टीकासु च द्रष्टव्यः) proves that it was a metrical Vārtika containing 1,000 topics and it earned for Mādhava the distinguished epithet 'Suśrutavārtikakāra' (P 203a).

Bālasarasvatī (on prosody): P 126a, def. of 'rucirā' metre (not found, however, A in 75a).

Bindusāra: very often from A 27b.

Bhaṭṭāra-(ka), epithet of Haricandra: very often from P 1b.

Bhadravarmā: A 78a, 84a &c. often. One of the sources of Cakra.

Bhadra-śaunaka: P 402b.

Bhavadeva: P 230a, 232a. Author of a *Gandhaśāstra*, from which six passages are cited. He is evidently identical with the famous Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, who had all round mastery over many subjects.

Bhavyadatta (author of *Vaidyapradīpa*): very often from A 4b.

Bhānumatī: A 76a &c., often. Cakra's commentary on *Suśruta*.

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Bhāluki: A 12b, P 310b. An ancient Ācārya.

Bhiṣagyukti: A 121b.

Bhaiṣagmuṣṭi: P 198a, A 209a.

Bhela (so spelt in A, P -ḍa-): often.

Bhoja: often from A 53b. It has hitherto been missed by all scholars that there were *three* medical authorities of the name of Bhoja. (1) An ancient Ācārya, pupil of Divodāsa and a class-fellow of Suśruta (cf. प्रभृतिग्रहणाद् भोजादयो गृह्यन्ते *Bhānumatī*, p. 8, *Dallaṇa*, p. 4. Also Hemarāja's Introd. to *Kāśyapa-saṃhitā*, pp. 61, 156 f. n., 216). Cakra cites from him 28 times in the printed fragment of the *Bhānumatī*. In a verse cited by Gayī (*Dallaṇa*, p. 579) a king ('bhūmipa') is addressed and in another cited in the *Bhānumatī* (p. 129) Bhoja himself is addressed, or perhaps ladies of the Bhoja country ('Bhoja-striṇām) are referred to. He is sometimes referred to as Vṛddha-Bhoja (Candraṭa's Comm. on *Cikitsākalikā*, Lahore Ed., p 200). (2) An earlier Bhojanṛpa cited already by Jejjaṭa. Niścala quotes:—अन्ये सुश्रुताध्यायिनः सन्निपातभेदस्य त्वोजोविस्रंसनस्य लक्षणमाहुः (P अभिदधति)। "ओजो विस्रंसते यस्य पित्तानिलसमुच्छ्रयात्। सगात्रस्तम्भशीताभ्यां शयनेखवचेतनः॥ अपि जाग्रत् स्वपन् जन्तुस्तन्द्रालुश्च प्रलापवान् (P श्राप्रतापवान्)। संहृष्टरोमा न्यस्ताङ्गो (P श्रस्ताङ्गो) मन्दसन्तापवेदनः॥ ओजोविरेचनं तस्य जानीयात् कुशलो भिषक्। अपहन्त्येव नियमाद्धतौजस्कमथापर इति॥ (इ)द्धमतसंमत-भोजनृपग्रन्थस्यायमिति जेज्जटः। (A वृद्धसम्मतोयमिति जेज्जडः)। (A 35ab, P 47b). Moreover, Candraṭa, who long preceded Bhoja of Dhara of the 11th century, distinguished between a Bhoja (Comm. on *Cikitsākalikā*, pp 80, 99) and a Vṛddha-Bhoja (p 200). The very term 'Vṛddha' implies that already there was another Bhoja in the field. One recipe of Cakra under Kāsa is ascribed by Niścala to 'king' Bhoja:—दशमूलीत्यादि (P adds स्पष्टं) भोजभूपस्य (P भोजस्य) (A 101a, P 168b). This physician (not surgeon) king is not the well-known author of the *Rājamārtaṇḍa*, where the recipe is not traceable. Indeed it cannot be, for the same recipe is already found in Vṛnda's *Siddhayoga* (p. 159) and Vṛnda undoubtedly preceded the author of the *Rājamārtaṇḍa*, which is comparatively a small treatise and never cited by any of the great scholars of the 11th century, not even by Niścala. This earlier king Bhoja is evidently identical with the Paramāra king Bhoja of Citor, who reigned in 665 A.D. and probably also in Hiuen Tsiang's time—the king who "encouraged men of merit and learned scholars of other lands collected here in numbers" (Watters, II, p. 251

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vide Ind. Ant. 1917, p. 192). This Bhoja was a patron of the poet Māgha.

Madhyasaṃhitā: the long-lost 'middle' work of the great Vāgbhaṭa, profusely cited by Niścala from P 2b. Also Śivadāsa in *Tattvabodha*, pp. 165, 168, 173-6 and 181.

Mahīdhara (author of *Viśvavallabhā*); P 354b (def. of ब्रध्न borrowed by Vṛnda p. 325).

Mādhavakara: often from A 15a. His therapeutic treatise different from the Nidāna is referred to as *Mādhavasaṅgraha* in A 106a :—अत्र वृन्दो, योगसन्दर्शनादत्र...त्रिसुगन्धिन इति (Poona ed. 163) अत्र योगसन्दर्शनादिति माधवसंग्रहे कुलत्थगुडं चतुर्गुणं जलमस्ति, अपरमपि सर्वं तुल्यमित्याहुः। Śrikaṇṭha (ib., P 164) actually cites the words of Mādhava here as elsewhere (pp. 9 & 451). Several copies of Mādhava's *Cikitsitam* have been discovered (B.O.R.I., *l. c.*, pp. 177-8). It was superseded by Vṛnda's larger work.

Maudgalyāyanīya: A 114b.

Yogapañcāśikā: A 105b, one of the sources of Cakra and Vṛnda (p. 162 where the same recipe is found).

Yogamañjari (by Nāgārjuna): P 263a, 479b.

Yogamālā: A 92b—त्वगादिविभागक्रमो युक्तदेशीय(?)-योगमालायां यथा... (under Tālīśādyamodaka). As a typical instance of Niścala's wealth of annotations as compared with those of his (elderly) class-fellow Śrikaṇṭha we may state that against only four quotations in the latter (Vṛnda-ṭīkā, p. 55 Hārita, Jatūkarṇa, 'kecit' & Tantrāntara) there are as many as eleven in the former (Hārita, Jatūkarṇa, Dīpikākṛt, Āyurvedasāra, Govardhana, Vābhaṭa, Sudāntasena, Vaidyaprasāraka, Jejjaḍa, Kalyaṇasiddhi & Yogamālā).

Yogaratnasamuccaya (by Candraṭa ?): P 81a, A 103a.

Yogaratnasarasamuccaya: P 55b, 422b.

Yogaratnakara (by Bhavyadatta): A 2a, 15a (योगरत्नाकरे सूदशास्त्रपरिच्छेदे विद्यामहावनर्थाभव्यदनेन मगड एव पेयारूपत्वेन पठ्यते चतुर्दशगुण इति विवरणात। तथाहि, चतुर्विधं भवेद्भक्तं...2 verses cited by Śivadāsa) & 190a.

Yogavyakhya (by Mādhavakara): A 68a, 68b.

Yogayukti: A 106a, 114b.

Yogaśata: very often from A 27b. (by Nāgārjuna, see *Darbar Cat*, II. p. 78)

Do-(Akṣadeviya); different from above A 105b.

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Rakṣitapādāḥ (i. e. the author's teacher Vijaya Rakṣita): A 13a, 21a &c.

Ratnaparīkṣā-Śāstra: P 202b, 203a.

Ratnamālā (by Govardhana): A20b, 54b &c.

Rambharāma: P 238a—सर्वज्ञमादितो नत्वा दक्षिणापथजन्मनः । देन्तक्रस्य मतं वीक्ष्य गन्धतैलं निबध्यते ॥ श्रीनागार्जुनपादानां मतं चालोड्य धीमता । श्रीमता रम्भरामेण सत्वानां सुखहेतवे ॥

Ravigupta (author of the *Siddhasāra*): very often from A 21a.

Rasasāgara: A 190b.

Rāmadeva (a commentator on Suśruta): P 379b.

Rūparatnākara (on grammar): P 449b.

Lokoka: P 238a.

Lohakalpa ('Śaṅkara-bhāṣita'): P 393ab.

Loharasāyana: P 322a.

Vakulakara: one of Niścala's supreme authorities cited profusely from A 13b. Vijaya Rakṣita refers to his views under Vātavyādhi, but Niścala elaborates them thus:—सुश्रुते निदाने गदाधरेणोक्तं, पित्तकफस्य...न पित्तकफव्याधय इति । एतच्चानवद्यवैद्यविद्याविनोदितविविधविद्वद्बृन्दारकमहोपाध्याय-श्रीवकुल-करस्य न कथंचिदपि सम्मतिवाटीकोटिघटनामाटीकते । तथा हि...(A 124b, P 202-3). The flowery panegyric proves that Vakula was closely connected with Niścala and may be the latter's own uncle once referred to (इदं पितृज्येष्ठः समादत्ते P 618b). Vakula came after Cakra (A 135a).

Vararuci: A 88b, P 153a. A Mīmāṁsaka of the Prabhākara school:—

अत्रार्थे वररुचिः, "प्राचीनं यत्तु यज्ञस्य तेनोपांश्विति चान्वयः । वीप्सा-तेनेति शब्दाभ्यां व्यवधान्न तथान्वयः ॥" (re Chūrādhikaraṇanyāya). Niścala displays here in a long passage a bit of his dialectic skill; the Nyāya in question belongs to the Prabhākara school, to which he seems to have been affiliated (क्षुराधिकरणन्यायः प्रभाकराणाम् P 153b).

Varāhamihira: P 70a., 21b.

Vallabhā (by Sanātana): commentary on *Yogaśataka*, often A 24a, 75a &c.

Vāṅgasena-Saṅgraha: P 251b—वाङ्गसेनादीनां संग्रहे पत्रिकापि प्रचरति, "प्रचार-णीचबृहन्ती...पत्रीयं लिखिता मया ॥" This important reference settles the date of the famous Vaṅgasena, though the extract cannot be traced in the printed text of the latter's Saṃhitā (Lucknow Ed., 1904, p. 369).

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Vāpyacandra: often from A 9a. A famous commentator on Caraka.

Vābhaṭa (so invariably spelt in A): almost in every page. In a separate paper we are attempting to prove that there was only one Vābhaṭa.

Vikramaparakrama: A 149a—लक्ष्मीविलासतैलस्य श्रीविक्रमपरक्रमात् ।...श्रुत्वा दृष्ट्वा तथा पक्वा पत्रिका लिख्यते मया ॥

Vikramāditya: P 110a, श्रव तु नाम्नि राज्ञा श्रीविक्रमादित्यदेवेन श्रीदत्तेति सज्जन-कथापरम्परा । (*re* Śrī Bāhuśāla-guḍa) ; not found in A 66b.

Vārtāmālā (by Nāgārjuna): A 75a, 109b.

Videha: P 88a &c.

Vibhākara: A 72a, 190a, P 319b. A recent author highly honcured by Niścala: —"मधुशर्करयोर्युतम्" इति बहुपुस्तकेषु पाठः । अनेनैव पाठेन वयोवृद्धा अपि व्यवहरन्ति । परन्तु विभाकरपादाः परिकलितसकललोहशास्त्ररहस्यविदः सन्तो वदन्ति, न घृतमन्तरेण लौहपाको घटते ।...ततश्च तैरेव गुरुपरम्परया पाठान्तरमानीतं चतुर्विंशतिपल्याज्यान् मधुशर्कयोर्नव ।"...(under Agnimukha-lauha in the chapter on piles A 72a & P 120-21).

Viśvavallabhā (by Mahīdhara): P 410b, a commentary on *Yogaśata*.

Viśvāmitra: P 287b.

Viṣṇupurāṇa: P 584b.

Viṣṇusarmā: A 199a—स्त्रीजातेरपि शुक्रावयवसमवायात् गौरवमस्तीति मत्वा द्वयोरपि ग्रहणमित्याह विष्णुशर्मा । P 333b reads-varma.

Vṛddha Vābhaṭa: very often.

Vṛddha-Videha: P 219b.

Vṛddha-Suśruta: P 594a.

Vṛndakuṇḍa (or oftener Vṛnda): very often ; author of the *Siddha-yoga*.

Vaitaraṇa : P 390a, 399b.

Vaidyapradīpa (by Bhavyadatta): very often. One of the supreme authorities of Niścala (see *Yogaratnākara*).

Vaidyaprasāraka by Gadādhara: often from A 7a.

Vaidyasāra: A 94b.

Vyagra-Daridra-Śubhaṅkara (a long-lost work of Cakrapāṇī) : P 368a, 370a, 384a, 388a & 399b. It was written before the present Saṅgraha (P 388a) and was also known as *Śubhaṅkara*.

Śabdarṇava (lexicon): A 22a, 133b &c.

Śaṅgu (? a prākṛta writer) : P 398a.

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Śālihotra: P 214b.

Śivasiddhānta: P 581b.

Śukatantra: A 2a.

Śrīdhara-Pātañjali-Śāstra: A 21b (P 23b reads Pātañjala-Gaṇitaśāstra).

Sanātana : A 75b &c., author of the Vallabhā commentary on *Yogaśata*.

Sandhyākara: A 94b.

Sāroccaya (the name of Vakula's work): A 69a.

Siddhayoga (by Vṛndakuṇḍa): very often from P 1b.

Siddhasāra: often from A 51a. The name of Ravigupta's work (cf. Aruṇadatta on Hṛdaya I. v. 23). For Nepalese Mss. of the work *vide Darbar Cat.*, vol. I, pp. 21 & 36.

Sudāntasena: A 80b, 92a, 114b &c.

Suvīra (an ancient commentator on Suśruta: P 376b...अत्र सुविस्तरमेव सुवीरजेज्जटौ जल्पितवन्तौ, तदसारमिति चन्द्रिकाकारः ।

Sūdaśāstra (already ascribed to Nalanṛpa: P 95a, 255a)

Svalpa-Saṃhitā (of Vābhaṭa): often; also called Alpa-, Sūkṣma-Vābhaṭa, (A 104a) and Svalpa-Vābhaṭa. Identical with Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya.

Svāmidāsa (commentator on Caraka): P 6b.

Haramekhalā: A 74b, 75a &c. This Prākṛta book has been printed at Trivandrum, but from imperfect Mss.

Haricandra: very often from A 9a; mostly cited under his title of distinction Bhaṭṭāra. Besides a commentary on Caraka and, according to Indu (*Śaśilekhā*, Trichur Ed., vol. II, pp. 368 376) a (revised) version of the Kharanāda-Saṃhitā Haricandra also wrote a Saṃhitā of his own from which Niścala has quoted:—

(A 22a) भट्टारः स्वसंहितायां, "षट्सर्षपैर्यवस्त्वेको गुञ्जैका तु यवैस्त्रिभिः ।
, गुञ्जाभिर्दशभिः प्रोक्तो माषको ब्रह्मणा पुरा ॥
चत्वारो माषकाः शाणस्तद्द्वयं कोलसंज्ञितं ।
वटकं द्रङ्कणञ्चैव कर्षस्तद्द्विगुणः स तु ॥

(P 592a) अतएव (भट्टा)रहरिश्चन्द्रः स्वसंहितायां "कार्त्तिके श्रावणे चैत्रे मासि साधारणे क्रमात्", इत्यनेनोक्तवान् ।

This cannot be identical with the Kharanāda-Saṃhitā from which Niścala quotes separately. The following passage, moreover. proves that Bhaṭṭāra himself quotes from Kharanāda:—(A 13a एतेन, सप्तरात्रात

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परमित्यादिसुश्रुतवाक्येन, तथाष्टाहो निरामज्वरलक्षणमिति चरकवाक्येन च, निःसप्ततैवेल्यादि-खरनादवाक्यादिभिरपि सहैकवाक्यता भवतीति ज्वरोत्पाददिनागणनया भट्टारप्रभृतीनामप्ययमेवाभिप्रायः ।

It was from this long-lost Saṃhitā of Haricandra (and not from his commentary on Caraka) that Niścala must have quoted the following recipe couched in an elegant verse:—(A 75a, P 126a) यदाह भट्टार(-हरिश्चन्द्र P) एव, हरीतकी हरिहरतुल्य ! षड्गुणा, चतुर्गुणा चतुरविलास ! पिप्पली । द्विचित्तकं वरदवरैकसैन्धवं, रसायनं कुरु नृप ! वह्निदीपनम् ॥ इति ।

The poetic address to a king proves that the Saṃhitā was written for his patron Sāhasāṅka at whose court, according to his own descendant Maheśvara (in the *Viśvaprakāśa* written in 1033 Ś.), Haricandra was the physician. This patron cannot be identified, but he flourished before Bāṇabhaṭṭa, who in a verse of the *Harṣacarita* abundantly eulogises 'Bhaṭṭāra-Haricandra'. 600 A. D. is thus the lower limit of his date.

Hārāvalī: P 200a—मुज्ञातन्तालमस्तकम् इति हारावली । This is evidently a copyist's error for *Dravyāvalī* For, the quotation cannot be traced in the current *Hārāvalī* of Puruṣottamadeva and in the corresponding passage of Śrīkaṇṭha's *Vṛndaṭikā* (p. 193) the reference has been correctly stated to be to *Dravyāvalī*.

Hārīta: most often.

Dates of authors

In the above long list there is only one book which records a date of composition viz. the Prākṛta *Haramekhalā*. At the end of the book (Triv. Ed., Pt. II, pp. 87-8) it is stated that it was written on the 7th day of Māgha in the year 887 of an unspecified era. The anonymous commentary adds 'Śrī-Vikramāditya-kālāt' i.e. the date corresponds to 830 A.D. But this reference to the Vikrama Saṃvat is quite wrong. The author's account is given in the following verse:—(*ib.* p. 87, v. 280 of Chap. V)

धरणिवराहराज्ये कविमण्डनतनयमाधवसुतेन ।
रचिता चित्तकूटे माहुकेन हरमेखला ॥

The identification of the author's patron 'Dharaṇivarāha of Citrakūṭa' (i.e. Chitor) will settle his date. No such king reigned in the region about 830 A.D. An inscription dated 914 A.D. of a Dharaṇivarāha of the Cāpa family of Wadhan in Gujrat is known (*Dyn. Hist. of*

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North India, vol. II, pp. 934 & 936 fn.), but Wadhan is a long distance from Chitor. A Paramāra prince of the same name of Candrāvatī and Arbuda (near Chitor) reigned before 1002 A.D. (*ib.* p. 928) and it can be safely asserted that this prince (or the Paramāra prince of Kirādu, if they are not identical, *ib.* p. 930) was the patron of Māhuka who wrote in 887 Śaka i.e. 965 A.D. This is corroborated by the following piece of evidence. In the first chapter of the book (not printed) it is stated that the author was a descendant of the famous poet Māgha and belonged to the city of Bhillamāla:— तस्य निजजीवदयितशिष्यः श्रीभिल्लमालपुरनिलयः। माघमहाकविकुञ्जरकुलकलभो माहुको नाम ॥ (I. 9, Ms. at Nepal: *Darbar Cat.*, II, p. 113). If Māhuka's date was 830 A.D. Māgha (fl. 700 A.D.) must have been the father or grandfather, and not any more distant ancestor as the epithet clearly implies, of Māhuka's grandfather 'poet' Maṇḍana, whom he has named. The date of Māhuka is, therefore, 965 A.D. which will serve as a fixed point in the uncertain state of chronology of the later authors. It should be stated here that Cakrapāṇi actually derived some formulas from Māhuka (P 262b = Haramekhalā p. 85, 434a = ib., p. 65, Vṛndaṭikā p. 294 = *ib.*, p. 65), but in the corresponding portions of Vṛnda, whom Cakra very closely follows, these are not found. So it can be argued that Vṛnda was much nearer in date to Māhuka, whose work was not evidently consulted by him. As Cakra wrote in 1040-50 A.D., the lower limit of Vṛnda's date as of almost all the sources of Cakra is 1000 A.D.

Similarly, Cakra derived two recipes from Candraṭa (P 395b = Candraṭa's *Yogaratnasamuccaya*, R.A.S.B. Ms. No. 5168, fol. 18a of Pt. II & P 584b = fol. 43b of Pt. I of ib.) and here also Vṛnda showed no borrowing from Candraṭa, who must have been, like Māhuka, a close contemporary of his. Candraṭa may thus be placed about 950 A.D., but not much earlier. For, according to Niścala (A 134a, P 217b) the formula for 'Māṣataila' (No. III) under Vātavyādhi was taken by Cakra from the *Cikitsākalikā* (of Candraṭa's father) and the same formula is found also in Vṛnda (pp. 214-5). The formula couched in three Vasantatilaka verses cannot be traced in the Lahore edition of the book, but two out of the many formulas taken by Candraṭa himself from the *Cikitsākalikā* (Harītakīcūrṇa and the verse classifying Piles in fol. 22b of Pt. II of the

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Yogaratnasamuccaya) cannot also be traced in the same edition and Niścala's statement cannot be questioned on that count. Tīṣaṭa's date is thus about 900 A.D ; Tīṣaṭa's father also was a most distinguished physician, for, explaining the phrase पितुः पादान् of Tīṣaṭa's introductory verse Candraṭa writes आयुर्वेदाब्धिप्रतरण-पोतपात्राणां पितुः पादानाम् (p. 2). In the colophon to many Mss. of the *Cikitsākalikā* Tīṣaṭa is described as the son of the great Vāgbhaṭa (Peterson, *Ulwar Cat.*, p. 69; *B. O. R. I.*, XVI (Vaidyaka vol.) pp. 170-75). Candraṭa's above gloss becomes meaningless if Tīṣaṭa's father is not identical with the great author Vāgbhaṭācārya, whose date as well as that of his pupil Jejjaṭa falls thus in the 9th century A. D. In several colophons of the printed fragment of Jejjaṭa's *Carakaṭīkā* he is called the pupil of Vāhaṭa (Lahore Ed., of Caraka, pp. 824, 1023, and 1382). Jejjaṭa was comparatively a recent writer, as he has named many previous commentators of Caraka like Haricandra (pp. 914, 926 &c.), Āṣāḍhavarman (pp. 900 and 959), Himadatta, Svāmidāsa (p. 959) and Celladeva (p. 1686). His teacher Vāhaṭa also belongs to a late period.

Candraṭa's sources, culled from the R.A.S.B. Ms., are as follows.

Early:—Agniveśa (I, 17b) Aśvini (kumara)saṃhitā (I, 21a) Ātreya (I, 92b) Kālapāda (I, 27) Kṛṣṇātreya (I, 7a, 9b) Kharanāda (I, 11b, 13b) Kṣārapāṇi (I, 5b &c.) Gopura (II, 75b) Caraka (often) -Do-Uttaratantra (II, 26a) Cakṣuṣyeṇa (I, 12b, 14b, 19b &c.) Jatūkarṇa (often) Nāgārjuna (II, 39b) Nāmanītaka (I, 6a, 7b &c.) Parāsara (I, 9b, 13a) Bheḍa (I, 1b &c. often) Mahendrakalpa (II, 24a) Videha (I, 12a) Vṛddha-Videha (II, 50b) Vṛddha-Suśruta (II, 74b) Śivasiddhānta (I, 34a) Suśruta (I, 4a &c.) Saunaka (II, 48b) Hārīta (I, 2a &c. often).

Medieval:—Acyuta (II, 77b) Amitaprabha (I, 9b ; Amṛta in 10b) Amṛtamālā (II, 11a, 16a) Āryasamuccaya (I, 40b) Cikitsākalikā (I, 13a &c. often) Cikitsāsamuccaya (II, 28b) Tīṣaṭa (II, 40a) Dravyāvalī (I, 20a, 39a) Bhadravartma (? varman, II, 7b) Bhiṣagmuṣṭi (I, 30b) Yogayukti (I, 29b) Ravigupta (II, 75b) Vāgbhaṭa (often) Vindusāra (I, 15a, 17b) Vindubhaṭa (?, I, 33a) Vṛddha-Vāhaḍa (I, 36a) Siddhasāra (I, 5a, 16a). It should be noted that in the above list there is only one book viz. *Āryasamuccaya* or *Cikitsāsamuccaya* which cannot be traced in the fragments of Niścala. For all the medie-

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val scholars mentioned by Candraṭa, 900 A.D. can be conveniently taken as the lower limit of date. The earlier limit in our opinion is 600 A.D., taking Bhaṭṭāra-Haricandra as the connecting link between the Saṃhitā period and the period of commentaries and compendiums. The following tentative scheme of chronology may be placed before scholars under the new light thrown by Niścala and others.

Before 600 A.D. : Haricandra.

Between 600 and 900 A.D. : Āyurvedasāra, Vindusāra, Siddhasāra &c.

Vāgbhaṭa, about 850 A. D. He cannot have flourished before 800 A. D.

Jejjaṭa, about 875-900 A. D.

Mādhavakara, 900-25 A. D. According to Niścala he came after Jejjaṭa:—

A 68a, जेज्जडस्तु द्विगुणमिच्छति, तदनुयायी योगव्याख्यायां माधवकरः। (also 68b)

A 119a, जेज्जडपक्ष एव माधवेन विवृतः। (=P 194a)

A 124b, जेज्जडमतानुयायिना माधवेनादृतः। (=P 202a)

Candraṭa, about 950 A. D.

Vṛndakuṇḍa 975-1000 A. D.

Cakrapāṇi 1040-50 A. D.

We need hardly state that all chronological researches of Hoernle (*Osteology*. 1907, pp. 7-17, 100; *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 283-302 &c.), and his followers turn out now to be a hopeless muddle and should be entirely rejected.

Bengal's contribution to Vaidyaka literature

Niścala's work reveals a vast mass of materials on the subject and pictures a most flourishing period of Vaidyaka studies in Bengal during 900-1100 A. D. A Bengal school of Caraka already existed before Jejjaṭa, who refers to the 'Gauḍa' recension and interpretation of Caraka (pp. 1457 and 949, Lahore Ed., 1941). Niścala gives the names of two new works (*Yogavyākhyā* and *Suśruta-cārtika*) of Mādhavakara, who is usually claimed for Bengal with good reasons. His native place is mentioned in the *Paryāya-ratnamālā* —

भिषजा माधवेनैषा शिलाह्रद-निवासिना।
यत्नेन रचिता रत्नमालेन्द्रकरसूनुना॥

(L. 3150; *Des. Cat., Cal. Sans. Coll.*, p. 41)

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The identification of 'Śilāhrada' can alone settle the problem of his provenance finally. It appears that it was a famous place at that time far away from Pāṭaliputra. For, Vācaspati Miśra mentions it in an illustration in the *Nyāyakaṇikā*:—(Chowkh. Ed., p. 301).

न खलु पाटलिपुत्र उपलब्धस्य प्रासादस्य शिलाह्रदे स्मरत्रभ्रान्तः ।

Mss. of the *Ratnamālā* as well as its cheap 'Vaṭatalā' editions exhibit Bengali synonyms of the words, normally pointing to his Bengal origin. (*vide Sāhitya*, Bengali Monthly, 1321 B. E., pp. 806-19). One of the greatest names of the 10th century A.D. viz. Gayadāsa can now be definitely assigned to Bengal. Under 'Gandha-taila' we get the following important quotations in Niścala:—(A 149b-150a, P 240a).

अनुक्ततैलद्रव्याणां मिलमध्यारिभेदतः ।
सांप्रतञ्च तथा मानं नवधीमो यथाविधि ॥

* * * * *

तत्र, मिलाणां सकलो भागो मध्यमानां तदर्द्धिकं ।
शत्रूणां पादिकश्चेति मानमेवं त्रिधा मतम् ॥
बालानां तैलपाकार्थमुक्तो द्रव्यविनिश्चयः ।
मानं च कीर्त्तितन्त(द्व)द्यथाशास्त्रसमुद्भवम् ॥
वैद्यश्रीगयदासेन गन्धशास्त्रानुसारतः ।
मिलमध्यारिभेदोयं यथाङ्गेन निदर्श्यते ॥

तद्यथा, मिलद्रव्यं । १० ।...इत्येतद्गौड़ेश्वरान्तरङ्गश्रीगयदासेन दर्शितं (P reads एतद्-गौड़ान्तरङ्गश्री) । सुगन्धितैलपाकार्थं बालानां गन्धयोजनम् ॥ So like Cakra Gayadāsa adorned the royal court evidently of a Pāla king. According to Dallaṇa, Jejjaṭa and Gayadāsa were the two greatest authorities in Suśruta and he used the flattering epithets 'Mahācārya' (p. 675) and 'Mahāvaidya' (p. 711) to them alone.

Gayadāsa in his commentary on Suśruta cited Jejjaṭa by name (*J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 301) and Cakrapāṇi once refers to the *Candrikā* (on Suśruta) in Carakaṭīkā (P 1437). So he can be placed about 1000 A. D. in the reign of one of the greatest Pāla kings Mahīpāla I. The interesting imprecation uttered by Cakra at the end of the Cakradatta which we have cited before proves that Vṛndakuṇḍa author of the *Siddhayoga* also belonged to Bengal. As a matter of fact it is defini-

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tely stated by Bharata Mallika that he belonged to East Bengal :— (*Candraprabhā*, p. 21)

कुण्डवंशे व्रन्दकुण्डो वीजो वैद्यकशास्त्रकृत् ।
स भरद्वाजसम्भूतो वङ्गभूमिकृताश्रयः ॥

(By the term Vaṅg-, Bharata means Eastern Bengal as distinguished from Rāḍha or West Bengal). In the 11th century the towering figure of Cakra eclipsed a galaxy of great names mentioned by Niścala. Cakra was both a great surgeon and a physician and along with the flattering title 'Carakacaturānana' he enjoyed another 'Śuśruta-Sahasranayana' which is equally glowing. The significance of the latter title should not be missed. Indra, who has a thousand eyes, is traditionally the fountain source of the science of surgery. We conclude this sketch by naming the most distinguished Bengali scholars, who from the evidence found in Niścala were more or less contemporaries of Cakra. They are Govardhana (unknown outside Bengal), Bhavyadatta, Vakulakara, Umāpati and Trilocanadāsa. The first three are repeatedly quoted by Niścala. It should not be forgotten, however, that a number of the other great names mentioned by Niścala undoubtedly belonged to Bengal, though the evidence is not yet sufficient in their case.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

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MISCELLANY

Were the Mahārājas of Khandesh the Feudatories of the Guptas

In a note entitled 'the Mahārājas Svāmidāsa, Bhuluṇḍa and Rudradāsa, published in this Journal,[1] Dr. D. C. Sircar has raised the following objections to my view that the dates 67, 107 and 117 found in the land-grants of these three kings respectively, refer to the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era founded by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena.[2]

(1) The location of the territories of these kings has not yet been proved entirely beyond doubt.

(2) As these feudatory princes are called *Mahārāja* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta* in their grants they must have been feudatories of the Gupta emperors Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I; for it was these Gupta emperors who first popularised all over India the use of the Imperial titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* and whose feudatories called themselves *Mahārājas*. These three princes could not therefore have been the feudatories of the Ābhīras who flourished before the Guptas.

For these reasons Dr. Sircar concludes that the dates of the grants of these kings refer to the Gupta era. I propose to examine these objections briefly in the present note.

(1) There should now be no doubt as regards the country over which these three kings were ruling. One of the three plates viz. that of Rudradāsa was found in the possession of a Patil at Śirpur in the West Khandesh District of the Bombay Presidency.[3] The record on it bears such a striking resemblance in respect of wording, characters and mode of dating to that on the other two plates, that it leaves no doubt that all the three plates belong to the same royal dynasty. The other two plates, recording the land-grants of Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa, though found in distant Indore, did not therefore originally belong to Central India any more than the plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II which were discovered together

1 *Ante*, vol. XXII, pp. 64 f.
2 *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXV, p. 159 f.
3 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, p. 98.

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with them.[4] This conclusion gains support from the circumstance that these other plates were found at Indore in the possession of Pandit Vāmanaśāstri Islāmpurkar who was engaged in collecting Sanskrit Mss., copper plates and other antiquities in different parts of India. Further, the names of two of these three princes end in *dāsa*, which suggests their relationship to the royal family which caused the Ajantā Cave XVII to be excavated and which from an inscription left in that cave, is known to have had several members with names ending in *dāsa*.[5] The places mentioned in these three plates can still be identified in the vicinity of Sirpur in Khandesh as already shown by me.[6] No better identification of them has yet been suggested and no evidence has yet been adduced to support the conjecture that these *Mahārājas* were ruling over 'the territories about Anūpa and Avanti.'

(2) As for the second objection, it is no doubt true that the expression *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta* is not found in any records of the pre-Gupta age from South India, but really speaking we have no other early copper-plate grants made by *feudatory* princes of South India, where only such an expression can be expected. As for the title *Mahārāja* assumed by these feudatory kings, I doubt very much whether any definite conclusion can be drawn from it. As already stated, we have no other grants of the pre-Gupta age made by feudatory princes of South India which alone could have enabled us to state whether such princes called themselves *Mahārājas* or assumed a humbler title. The Ābhīra king Īśvarasena is, no doubt, called *Rājan* in a Nasik Cave inscription, but that is no sure indication that his successors also, who, judging from the spread of their era, had an extensive empire comprising Gujarat, Koṅkaṇ and Northern Mahārāṣṭra including Khandesh, were satisfied with the same simple title. No inference can be drawn from the absence of imperial titles in the records of other Southern dynasties such as the Traikūṭakas and the Vākāṭakas.[7] Some royal families were fond of high-sounding titles, others were satis-

4 The Vākāṭakas had no territory north of the Narmadā during the reign of Pravarasena II. They extended their power to North India first during the reign of Narendrasena.

5 *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, vol. IV, pp. 129 f.

6 *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXV, pp. 162 f

7 I have shown elsewhere how the inferences based on the absence of such imperial titles in the records of the Kuṣāṇa emperors Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka are incorrect.

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fied with modest ones. The Early Kalacuris, for instance, who had an extensive empire comprising Malwa, Gujarat, Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāṣṭra, did not use even the title *Mahārāja* in their official records. All of them are mentioned with the simple honorific prefix *śrī* in all their land-grants. It is noteworthy that the drafters of these records had access to Gupta inscriptions from which they copied several expressions. This will show that we cannot draw any valid conclusion from the absence of high-sounding imperial titles in other records of the South.

The grants of these *Mahārājas* of Khandesh do not appear to be dated in the Gupta era. We have no evidence that the era ever spread to Khandesh, for apart from these doubtful cases, we have no grants of that era from this or, for the matter of that, any other part of Mahārāṣṭra. Besides, the Guptas could not have penetrated to Khandesh as early as G. 67 (A.D. 386). The earliest dated record of the Guptas from Central India is the Udayagiri Cave inscription dated G. 82 which belongs to the reign of Candragupta II. There is no mention of any country situated in the Western and Central parts of the Deccan in the long list of Samudragupta's conquests given in the Allahabad pillar inscription. During the time of Candragupta II Gupta influence was, no doubt, felt at the courts of the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha and the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kuntala,[8] but there is no evidence to prove that Gupta suzerainty was officially recognized by any rulers of the Deccan.

On the other hand there is ample evidence to show that the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era was current in Khandesh in the period to which these land-grants belong. As I have shown elsewhere,[9] the era was founded after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas and spread in Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarat and Koṅkaṇ, evidently with the expansion of the imperial power of the dynasty which founded it. The Purāṇas mention the Ābhīras among the successors of the Āndhras (*i.e.*, the Sātavāhanas) and we have actually an inscription of an Ābhīra king Īśvarasena at Nasik, which, on the evidence of palæography and language, is referrable to the 3rd century A.D. No other imperial dynasty is known to have ruled in Mahārāṣṭra in the second half of the third century A.D. The era must, therefore, have been started by the Ābhīras. Khandesh was the strong-hold of the Ābhīras. The Purāṇas state that as many as ten princes of this dynasty

8 *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXV, pp. 36 f. 9 *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXVII, pp. 35 f

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ruled for 167 years.[10] Though no records of any of these kings except Īśvarasena have yet been discovered, I have no doubt that the Pauranic statements would be substantiated by future discoveries in this case as they have been in several other cases. The Ābhīra era was current in the Nāsik District which lay to the south of Khandesh, and was used by Traikūṭakas, Kalacuris, Early Cālukyas and their feudatories who ruled in that district. I have shown elsewhere that it was current in the Barwāni State[11] which borders Khandesh on the north. That it was used in Khandesh also is shown by the grant of the Sendraka chief Aallaśakti recently discovered at Kasāre in West Khandesh.[12] The Sendraka prince used the era in this grant because it was well established in Khandesh. If the Gupta era had been introduced in Khandesh, it would, in all probability, have been continued by succeeding dynasties who ruled in Khandesh as we find the Ābhīra era was used in other parts of Mahārāṣṭra, Koṅkaṇ and Gujarat.

The foregoing discussion will, I hope, convince scholars that the dates 67, 107 and 117 of the grants of the *Mahārājas* Svāmidāsa, Bhuluṇḍa and Rudradāsa refer to the Ābhīra era and that they were feudatories of the Ābhīras and not of the Guptas.

V. V. Mirashi

10 *Loc. cit.*, p. 42.

11 *Ante.*, vol. XXI, pp. 79 f.

12 *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala Quarterly*, vol. XXI, App pp. 66 f.

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Two Unknown Cālukya Princes—Yuvarāja Mallikārjuna and Tailapa III

Among the children of the western Cālukya monarch Vikramaditya VI (Tribhuvanamalla) only three were known till now.[1] These were Jayakarṇadeva, Someśvaradeva and Mailalamahādevī... Recently discovered inscriptions show that there were two more, Mallikārjunadeva and Tailapa III, of whom the former was the eldest and heir-apparent.

One of the earliest references to *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna is in A. D. 1079.[2] An inscription at Ālanda, found at Dargāh Laḍlāle Masak Sāheb, gives valuable information about him. In 1082 some internal disturbances having endangered the peaceful reign of Vikramāditya VI, Mallikārjuna was detached to quell this rebellion. He was opposed by a company of hostile kings with "sham bravery." But being routed and dispersed they approached him with great awe and humbly said: "You (alone) are our Lōrd. Pray command us." It cannot be made out from whence this opposition arose. But its successful termination at once raised Mallikārjuna in the estimation of his father. Verse 9 of the same inscription relates that, on observing his mighty valour, the emperor Vikramāditya VI foresaw how this prince alone was worthy of the "dignity of the rank of an heir-apparent." He was then forthwith anointed with due pomp and, as a special favour, the province of Ālande Thousand was conferred on him. At this time *Daṇḍanātha-Nāḍperggaḍe* Nācarasa applied to the emperor for the exemption of certain local taxes and petitioned the *Yuvarāja* to give a grant to the god Someśvara of Ālande, and this request was granted. Another officer *Paṭṭana-Heggaḍe* Gommalayya approached him with a request for a donation in order to burn a perpetual lamp for the same god. And the prince gave away ten coins every month out of the collection of cash received in taxes at Ālande. On the same occasion queen Candaladevī requested Vikramāditya VI to make a gift to the guru Sureśvara Paṇḍita. This lady was evidently the mother of *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjunadeva, though this is not particularised in the record.[3]

1 Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 455, 565 and 569.
2 *Prācina Karnāṭaka*, I, ii, p. 41; *Karnataka Historical Review*, II, i, p. 48.
3 *K.H.R.*, IV, ii, pp. 64-8.

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There are other references to this prince for the next thirtyfive years. He was, as described in a record at Hebbāl, governing the Tarddavāḍi Thousand in 1095. He gave away, at the request of the general Bhīvaṇayya, 100 *mattars* of land to the temple of Sarasvatīdevī and made, as the custodian of the gift, Candraśekhara Paṇḍita, the Ācārya of the Maṭha of Svayambhu Dakṣiṇa Somanāthadeva at Hebbāl.[4] In 1109, according to an inscription at Agarkheḍ, he was administering the same district. This record gives two important details: first, that *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna was the "King's eldest son;" and secondly, that this prince had a preceptor named Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭopādhyāya, who remitted certain *aṛuvaṇa* taxes on the land attached to the god Svayambhu at Kheḍa.[5] This prince had a daughter named Kommaladevī-Mahādevī, who was the wife of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vikramādityadeva, the Lord of Vardhamānapura. This is mentioned in a record at Muttigi dated 1110. The same record specifies that Mallikārjuna was the Cālukya emperor's son (*Cālukya Carvarttiya maga*).[6] Two years later as proved by a record at Diṇḍavūr, the same district was held by the *Yuvarāja*, *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Bhiṣaṇadeva, the administrator of the town of Diṇḍavura, a village included in the six villages of Kempavekuli in the Tarddavāḍi Thousand, made a gift during his regime to the local temple of Mūleśvara.[7] Three years later he was, as revealed in a record at Nidoṇi, still posted in the same district. Meṇḍeya Barmaṇa built a temple of the god Keśavadeva in the locality and the merchants of the *Agrahāra* Niḍuvaṇi, as well as *Daṇḍanāyaka* Lakkarasa, the *Perggaḍe* of Tarddavāḍi, made certain gifts on that occasion.[8] *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna was also connected with the administration of Moramba 84. This is related in a record at Ruddavāḍi dated in Śrāvaṇa Bahula 8, corresponding to 24 July, 1117, of the Hevilambi Saṃvatsara. The reading of the Cālukya Vikrama year 48 however

4 Bombay Karnatak Collection, no. 90 of 1929-1930.

5 *Ibid.*, no. 1 of 1937-1938.

6 *Epigraphia Indica*, XV, pp. 29, 30; Kundangar, *Inscriptions in Northern Karnatak and the Kolhapur State*, no. 3, p. 69.

7 B.K.C., no. 3 of 1930-1931.

8 *Ibid.*, no. 183 of 1933-1934. Another record at Masyāl refers to Mallikārjuna and is dated in the year Jaya (1115). But the regnal year of Vikramāditya VI is wrongly given as 49. Cf. *K.H.R.*, *op. cit.*, Appendix, no. 72.

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appears to be doubtful, in which case the year probably refers to A.D. 1124.[9]

This prince had a younger brother name Tailapadeva, who may be styled as Tailapa III. He was placed by Vikramāditya VI over the Sindavāḍi province. An inscription at Peddahotūr dated 1113 shows that he made a gift of land during a lunar eclipse for erecting a water-lift, at the request of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Dalavaparasa, Senabova Māciṛāja, Ketapa Gauḍa and Cavuṇḍayya.[10] Tailapa III was in the same district in 1122, when mention is made, in a record at Rāmarājupalli, of his subordinate Trailokyamalla(?), the ruler of Pombulige 73 and certain other divisions.[11] In the next year he is referred to in the Nekkoṇḍa inscription as making a donation in the company of his wife Lakṣmādevī and prince Permāḍi. He bore, among various titles and epithets, those of *Ripukula-ravi* and *Rudravidrāvaṇa*, revealing his enmity to the Kākatīya monarch. This inscription calls him thus: *śrīmat-Candaladevī-nayana-sarasija-sūrya*, showing that he was her son. The capital of this prince is stated to be Koḍurupura.[12] An undated inscription at Pāṇugal mentions that he made a gift of land to a certain person named Vaidyanātha, the brother of Bhīma.[13] In 1132, according to an inscription at Karakaṇṭhapura, he was still in Sindavāḍi, as a feudatory of the emperor Bhūlokamalla, who was then encamped at Piñjara. It is interesting to note that in this record Tailapa is called a *Yuvarāja*.[14] He appears to have been recognised as the next heir, as Mallikārjuna must have died by this time.

G. N. Salétore

9 Desai, '*A historical collection of inscriptions*,' in *K.H.R., op. cit.* no. 13, p. 3. There seems to be a historical allusion to this *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna in Nāgacandra's Kannaḍa work *Kumudendu-Rāmāyaṇa* in which he is probably mentioned as Pṛthvīdhara and reference is made to his capital Vijayapura (modern Bijapur in the Bombay province). But these details have yet to be confirmed by other means

10 *South Indian Inscriptions*, XI, 1, no. 190.
11 *Ibid.*, no. 202.
12 *Telangana Inscriptions*, I, (1935), no. 34.
13 *Ibid.*, no. 37.
14 *SII.*, XI, 1, no. 226; Cf. *Ibid.*, no. 221.

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REVIEWS

THE GLORY THAT WAS GŪRJARADEŚA: PART III—THE IMPERIAL GŪRJARAS. By K. M. Munshi, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1944.

The author of this book is a scholar, litterateur, lawyer and administrator of repute. Those who have heard or read his speeches in the Constituent Assembly will hardly believe that so acute a constitutional lawyer has written novels in Gujarati as well as scholarly works on ancient Indian history. That his outlook on life is not purely academic is clear from his record as Home Minister of Bombay in the Congress Ministry of Bombay (1937-39). Perhaps his keen interest in so many things has enabled Mr. Munshi to look at historical problems from fresh points of view. In any case the readers of the volume under review will admire his industry no less than his attempt to offer an original interpretation of our past.

The present volume covers the history of Gūrjaradeśa from about 500 A.D. to the conquest of Gujarat by Ala-ud-dīn Khaljī. According to Mr. Munshi the region of Mount Abu was the pivot of Gūrjaradeśa. He holds that the great ruling dynasties of this region—the Pratihāras, the Paramāras and the Cālukyas—were 'closely allied in blood and adventure.' He does not accept the theory that the Rajputs were of foreign origin. He has analysed epigraphic and literary evidence to prove that the Gurjaras were not foreigners. In recent years several scholars, including Professor Mirashi and Mr. Ramchandra Dikshitar, have resuscitated the theory of Mr. C. V. Vaidya and Pandit G. H. Ojha that the Rajputs were descended from the ancient Kṣatriyas. It is clear that the question of Rajput origins demands fresh investigation; the views of Crooke and D. R. Bhandarkar can no longer be accepted as final.

Mr. Munshi devotes three long chapters to the history of the Pratihāras. This subject has been thoroughly studied by other scholars, like Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. H. C. Ray and Dr. Tripathi of Benares. But Mr. Munshi has his own ideas about the achievements of this great Imperial dynasty. His chapters on the Paramāras cover the ground which was covered before by Dr. H. C. Ray and Dr. D. C. Ganguly; but there is some freshness in Mr. Munshi's account of the career of 'Bhoja, the

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Magnificent.' Three long chapters, covering more than 150 pages, deal with the Cālukyas. Here again Mr. Munshi had some distinguished predecessors, like the late Bhagwanlal Indraji and Dr. H. C. Ray; but he throws new light on some interesting problems. We may mention his remarks on Sultān Mahmūd's sack of Somnātha (pages 135-143). Mr. Munshi is sceptical about the authenticity of the story recorded by the Muslim chroniclers, and there is much to be said in favour of his conclusion that "the episode requires an unbiassed investigation."

In spite of his freshness of the subject Mr. Munshi's work would not, probably, have attracted much notice if he had confined, his survey to political history alone. After all, until the discovery of fresh evidence there is not much to add to our information about the Pratihāras, the Paramāras and the Cālukyas. Mr. Munshi has done well in giving us a picture of the age with which he deals. In his chapter on "Life and Culture" during the period 500-700 A.D. he gives an interpretation of Dharma (pages 34-35) which deserves serious notice. 'Of similar interest is his interpretation of Medhātithi's conception of Dharma (pages 91-96). In the last chapter Mr. Munshi has tried to explain "why India went under the raids of Ghūrī and Aibak" (pages 228-231). With some of his conclusion the professional historian may disagree, but Mr. Munshi is always interesting and provoking. The Appendices contain the text and translation of several important inscriptions. There are 18 maps and illustrations.

A. C. Banerjee

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bharatīya Vidyā, vol. VIII, nos. 3 & 4 (March—April, 1947

P. K. GODE.—*Studies in the History of Indian Festivals: The Dīvāli Festival.*—The genesis and development of the different features of the Dīvāli festival are discussed on the basis of Purāṇic texts quoted in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* as also on statements found in the Nibandha works. Some regional variations in the observance of the festival are also pointed out.

BHAGILAL J. SANDESARA.—*A Note on the word Kirāta "a deceitful merchant."*

A P. KARMARKAR.—*The Pāśupatas in Ancient India.* The theology of the Pāśupata School is discussed and the distinction of the Lakulīśa Pāśupata Sect from the School is pointed out.

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT.—*Catalogue of Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji Transcripts of Ancient Inscriptions preserved in the Mandlik Library, Fergusson College, Poona.*

Brahmavidyā (Adyar Library Bulletin), vol. XI. pt. 1

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Works of Maharaja Anupsingh.* Mahārāja Anupsingh of Bekaner, who was a great patron of learning in the 17th century, himself wrote nine works now preserved in the Manuscript collection of the Anup Sanskrit Library. Dharmaśāstra, rituals, music and stotras form the subject-matter of these treatises.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*The Hindu Temples and their Rôle in the future Life of the Country.* Hindu temples spreading over the different regions of the country are so many all-India institutions having as much significance for a southerner as for a man of the north. These temples may play a great part in the cultural and religious progress of the people.

Ibid., vol. XI, pt. 2 (May, 1947)

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Pāṇḍityadarpaṇa of Śvetāmbara Udayacandra.* The *Pāṇḍitya-darpaṇa* of Udayacandra noticed herein is a work written under the patronage of Mahārāja Anupsingh

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of Bekaner. The work mainly criticizes the views of some contemporary scholars on various points including those pertaining to grammar and *dharmaśāstra*.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Pādasaṃkhyā*. This Vedāṅga work available in fragmentary mss. deals with the division of the Ṛgvedic verses into *pādas*.

S. S. VEDANTACHARI.—*Kiraṇāgamavṛtti*. The *Vṛtti* described here is a rare polemical work of Rāmakaṇṭha, the well-known Kashmirian author of many other treatises on Śaiva Āgama.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XXV, pt. 1 (April, 1947)

V. RANGACHARYA.—*The Play of Imperialism in Kannada History and Some of its Cultural Effects*. The ambition and achievements of the particular rulers of the dynasties that held sway over Karṇāṭaka at different times contributed much to the cause of culture and progress. The dynasties dealt with in the paper are the Kadambas, Gaṅgas, Badami Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Kalyāyin Cālukyas, and the Hoysalas.

K. S. LAL.—*Cultural Activity during the Reign of Alauddin Khalji (1296—1316)*. The paper deals with the architectural works and literary outputs of the time of Alauddin Khalji and throws light on the condition of the arts of painting and music during the period.

K. SESHADRI.—*The Substance of Rāmānuja's Śrībhāṣya*.

B. G. TAMASKAR.—*Shivaji and the Europeans*.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XV, pt. IV

MILLE. S KARPELES.—*Activities of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient during 1940-45*. This is an account of research work carried out in Indo-china during the war years.

———.—*Archaeological Researches in Cochin-china (S. W. Indo-China) or the Discovery of Founan's Sites*.

P. T. RAJU.—*The Psychology of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1947, pts. 1 & 2

DORA GORDINE.—*Masterpieces of Oriental Art*: Two figures from Khajuraho have been described in this instalment of the discussions. The first is a Yakṣiṇī or woman-sprite under a flowering vine—a bracket figure on the Ucchālaka of a pillar in the Maṇḍapa of the

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Lakṣmaṇa temple dated A.D. 954. The second figure is that of a Vidyādhara shown on the Duladeo temple.

JOHN MARSHALL.—*Greeks and Śakas in India.* The first part of the paper deals with the history of Hellenistic, Parthian and Gandharian art in the North-West of India, and the second part is devoted to the controversial points regarding the dates of some of the Śaka and Parthian rulers.

JOSIAH CROSBY.—*Buddhism in Ceylon.*

GIUSEPPE TUCCI.—*Minor Sanskrit Texts on the Prajñāpāramitā.* The Sanskrit text of the *Prañāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha* of Diṅnāga together with its Tibetan version has been edited and translated into English, with Notes. Discovered in the monastery of Zalu, this small treatise is an epitome of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā.*

JOHN BROUGH.—*The Early History of the Gotras.* The gotra system is connected with the 'hymn-families' of the Ṛgveda. Originally, the number of gotras must have been smaller than those found in the Sūtra accounts.

Nagrīpracāriṇī Patrikā (in Hindi), year 52, no. 1

KRISHNADATTA VAJAPEYĪ.—प्राचीन भारत में अश्वमेध (*Aśvamedha in Ancient India*). The following topics regarding the Aśvamedha sacrifice have been discussed in the paper: the antiquity of the institution, its importance, occasion for its celebration, its early and later performers and its declines and discontinuation.

AGARCHAND NAHATA.—लोककथा सम्बन्धी जैन साहित्य (*Jaina Folk Literature*).

BRAJAMOHAN.—प्राचीन हिन्दु गणित में श्रेढी व्यवहार (*Use of Progression in Ancient Hindu Mathematics*).

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The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XXIII September, 1947 No. 3

The Tibetan-Ladakhi Moghul War of 1681-83

In an earlier work[1] I have already touched upon the three-cornered conflict between Ladakh, Tibet and the Moghul empire in the early eighties of the 17th century. This conflict was till now little known to historians. Its only mention by modern writers is to be found in the *History of Western Tibet* (London 1907) by Francke, an obsolete work which is only a paraphrase of the Royal Chronicle of Ladakh (*La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*), with no other source used. There is also a passing reference in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*,[2] based on Moghul sources only and marred by the wrong identification of Great Tibet (Tibet-i-Kalān) with Central Tibet.[3] And yet this forgotten war had a great importance in shaping the destiny of the Western Himalayas. It determined the ruin of the short-lived Himalayan empire of the Ladakhi kings and established the paramountcy of the Lhasa government over the whole length of the northern slope of the mountains. The border between Tibet and Ladakh, as settled in the peace which closed this war, is the modern border between Tibet and India, and the whole territorial status determined at that time has remained the same to this day, except only that Kashmir has absorbed and supplanted Ladakh.

The sources for this war are unexpectedly numerous. They may be listed as follows:

A. Ladakhi sources:

(1) The *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (Royal Chronicle of Ladakh) edited by Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. II, Calcutta 1926). It will be quoted here by the initial *L*.

1 *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh* (Calcutta 1939), pp 156-160.

2 Vol. III (Calcutta 1928), p. 19, and vol. V, (Calcutta 1924), p. 421.

3 I repeat here what I have already pointed out elsewhere: for the Indian historians of the Moghul period, Little Tibet is Baltistan and Great Tibet is Ladakh.

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(2) Cunningham's *Ladak, physical, statistical and historical,* London 1854. His account of the history of Ladakh is based on a manuscript of *L* much more complete and accurate than those on which Francke's edition is based. This manuscript is now lost, and Cunningham's book ranks therefore as an original authority.

(3) A Ladakhi document, being an acknowledgement by the Ladakhi king Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1705-1734) of the merits and faithful services of Śākya-rgya-mts'o, prime minister and commander-in-chief of Ladakh during the war. It was published by Francke in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet,* vol. II, pp. 242-244, and will be quoted here by the initial *S*.

B. Tibetan sources:

(4) The work called *dPal mii dbaṅ poi rtogs pa brjod pa ąjig rten kun tu dga bai gtam;* a wood-print of 395 leaves of 6 lines per leaf. It was composed in 1733 by Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal, called also Ts'aṅs-sras dgyes-pai-blo-ldan, and is a biography of the Tibetan nobleman bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas of P'o-lha (usually known under his title of Mii-dbaṅ-po); he was a staunch friend of the Chinese, fought and won the civil war of 1727/8 and was the Prime Minister of Tibet from 1728 to his death in 1747. Mii-dbaṅ-po's father Padma-rgyal-po took part in the Ladakhi war, and to this fact we owe a long account of the war (ff. 11-25), written in that bombastic and inflated style of later Tibetan literature. It is a rather confused and incomplete narrative, full of incredible particulars and loaded with long theological disquisitions (often in verse); nevertheless it is a priceless account of the war from the Central Tibetan point of view and is therefore one of our principal sources. It will be quoted here by the initial *M*.

(5) Not really belonging to Tibet, but to a state which was the ally of Tibet in this war, is a document (here published in appendix) found at Namgya in Kunawar by Prof. Tucci in 1933, of which he kindly placed a photograph at my disposal. It is a statement of the official intercourse and traffic conditions as settled at that time between the Tibetan government and the Raja of K'u-nu, i.e. Bashahr, now in the Simla Hill States. The document is not very important, but it gives some highly interesting details not to be found elsewhere. It was written out by a very ignorant copyist and its spelling is awful,

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so that my translation in several points is more a matter of guess-work than of interpretation. This document is identical with the so-called treaty between Ladakh and Bashahr, of which Francke obtained a copy in 1909,[4] but which he never edited. It will be quoted here by the initial *N*.

C. Moghul sources:

(6) *Maasir-i-Alamgīri*, official history of the latter period of the reign of Aurangzeb (ed. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1868). This is of little use for our purpose.

(7) *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri-i-Azami* by Muhammad Azam, written in 1148 A.H. (1735/6 A.D.). I used the Allahabad University Library manuscript.

Of these sources, those under A and C were already used by me in my *Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh*. But it is the Tibetan sources that enable us to complete the picture and to get a fairly accurate view of the whole course of this conflict.

The causes of this war are related in a somewhat conflicting way by *M* and *L*. Let us review briefly the situation existing in Western Tibet about 1680. The territorial status then prevailing was the result of the war waged in 1640 or 1641 by the Ladakhi king Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal against the then independent state of Tsang, and of the peace concluded by him at Śi-ri-dkar-mo on the banks of the Chaktak-tsangpo. The wholè of mŃa-ris sKor-gsum, including the sacred pilgrimage sites of the Kailāsa and Mānasarovar lake, was a dependency of the Ladakhi state, the border with Central Tibet ran on or about the Matyum-la, the watershed between the Sutlej basin and the Tsangpo-Brahmaputra. After that treaty, between 1640 and 1680 Ladakh had to accept the Moghul suzerainty (1664), and Tsang and the rest of Central Tibet were conquered in 1642 by the Mongol chieftain Guśrī Khan, who ruled it under the suzerainty of, or rather in partnership with, the Dalai Lama. He was succeeded in 1654 by his son Dayan Khan, who ruled till about 1668. He was then succeeded by his son Erdeni Dalai Khan, under whose very weak suzerainty Tibet was at the time of the war; but the real rulers were the Dalai Lama and his son, the Regent Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o. All these political changes had no deep influence on the situation at the border. In those vast, but

4 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. I, (Calcutta 1914), p. 24.

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very thinly populated territories, the only thing of real importance, both for government and subjects, was sheep raising and trade, chiefly the wool trade. It follows that any disturbing factor, such as disorders on the border resulting in the insecurity of the trade route Leh-Gartok-Lhasa, made itself keenly felt in both countries and even in the Himalayan states farther south. This is what the corrupted and perhaps lacunary text of *N* seems to convey with its insistence on the stipulations of unimpeded transit of messengers, envoys etc. in the territory of mÑa-ris. Keeping in view this economic background, the immediate cause of the unrest on the border and hence of the war was a religious quarrel, which is differently related by *M* and *L*. The former says (f. 11a-b):

"In former times the king of Ladakh was not devoid of noble qualities; acting in conformity with the religion he protected his sacred kingdom. Now, if we go to the bottom of things, it is perfectly clear that the fruit of actions depends on the existence of these conditions, viz. a good fruit from a virtuous seed and a bad fruit from a wicked seed etc. Nevertheless, in the same manner as, when in a lake clear like pure crystal without impurities there is a perturbation from bad and good patterns, the lake itself maintains its own splendour, even thus, because of his bad and wicked courtiers (mdun-na-ṣdon) and of their unbearable thoughts of evident envy towards the Doctrine spreading like the light of the sun through all the heavens being taught by the Yellows Caps, in those lands there had arisen a certain manner of behaviour founded on false reasonings. And because of this, the people of the regions of Glo-bo and Ru-t'ogs as well, like hare following thoughtlessly the noise, manifested their wicked designs, carrying out brigandage, and raiding with all their power and might the districts of Sa-dga and aGro-śod."[5]

The above account may be put in short thus: the king of Ladakh, who we know from *L*. and Ladakhi inscriptions to have been a strong supporter of the ṣBrug-pa sect, showed an increasing hostility against the dGe-lug-

5 Glo-bo is a Tibetan-speaking district now included in Nepal, but right on the Tibetan border; it lies to the north of Muktināth, and its capital is Mendang (sMan-t'aṅ). ḥGro-śod (Troshot) is the upper valley of the Tsangpo, from the Maryumla to the Tsachu-tsangpo. Sa-dga is the district further downstream, comprising the valley of the Chaktak-tsangpo; its capital is Sa-dga-rdsoṅ (Sakajong of the maps). Also the nearly contemporary *Vaidūrya-ser-po*, written by the Regent Saṅs-rgyaṡ-rgya-mts'o in 1697, speaks (f. 366a) of persecutions of the dGe-lugs-pa by the king of Ladakh.

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pa, the established church of Tibet. His subjects in the frontier regions took their cue from the attitude of the court and began to harass the inhabitants of the Tibetan districts on the other side of the border. We are further told that the Lhasa government took a serious view of the matter and sent the two brothers Mes-po-a-gsum and K'ro-bo-dkar-po as governors of Sa-dga with strict orders to pacify the district, a task which was swiftly and brilliantly carried out (*M*, f. 11b). These events belong to a time several years before 1681, because Padma-rgyal-po, who took part in the Ladakhi war, was born to Mes-po-a-gsum during the latter's governorship. Even after the pacification of Sa-dga, the potential cause of the trouble remained, and the fifth Dalai Lama Ñag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mts'o (1617-1682), being directly interested in the matter in his spiritual capacity as head of the Yellow Church, decided on military action against the king of Ladakh.[6]

The Tibetan sources quoted above complain of persecution of the dGe-lug-pa by Ladakh; it is but natural that the Ladakhi sources should complain of persecution of the ạBrug-pa by Tibet; *L* says that the ạBrug-pa incarnate, who at that time held spiritual and temporal sway over Bhutan, had a quarrel with Lhasa, and that the Ladakhi king, loyal follower and spiritual disciple of the ạBrug-pa, "sent a letter to Tibet saying that he was prepared to take up his quarrel." It does not much matter who was in the right; so much is sure, along other factors there was a conflict between the ạBrug-pa of Ladakh and the dGe-lug-pa of Tibet. This quarrel between the two sects concerned above all the Dalai Lama, as the spiritual head of Tibet; but the resulting insecurity of the trade routes could not leave indifferent the Mongol king bsTan-ạdsin Dalas Khan (as he is called by *M*), the temporal suzerain of Tibet. The result of this double religious and economic motive was a declaration of war by the Dalai Lama against Ladakh (*M*., f. 13b); Dalas Khan is not mentioned in this con-

6 His name is falsely given by *M*. f. 13a as Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. This ruler was dead since 1646, and the king of Ladakh in this period was bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal (*c*. 1675-1705). I take this occasion for rectifying the date of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's death, which in my *Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh* I gave wrongly as 1640/1. We know from the biography of the Fifth Dalai-Lama that a mission arrived from Ladakh to Lhasa in 1646, in order to perform the funeral ceremonies of the king. Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal had thus died in that year or in the preceding one. See Tucci, *Tibetan Notes*, shortly to be published in the Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.

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nection by *M.*, but his approval and co-operation are certain, because Mongol troops took a leading part in the war and it was Dalas Khan who greeted and honoured the victorious Tibetan general on his return to Lhasa.

Having taken the decision of waging war against Ladakh, the Dalai Lama entrusted its conduct to a Lama of Tashilhunpo called dGa-ldan Ts'e-dbaṅ dpal-bzaṅ-po. *M.* gives us a short account of his life, couched in its usual ornate style (f. 12a-13a). He was the eldest son of Dalas Hongtaiji, Gusrī Khan's second son and his heir in the Kukunor possessions of the family; dGa-ldan was thus first cousin of the ruler of Tibet Dalas Khan. He took his vows at Tashilhunpo and had a brilliant university career; he became very learned and was highly successful in the great religious debates regularly held at Tashilhunpo. At the time of the death of the Tashi Lama bLo-bzaṅ c'os-kyi-rgyal-mts'an in 1662 he was responsible for maintaining order in the market of Tashilhunpo, and showed a ruthless energy in carrying out his task. He afterwards remained in high favour at the court of the new boy Tashi Lama bLo-bzaṅ-ye-śes. This energetic monk was summoned to Lhasa by the Dalai Lama and entrusted with the rather unexpected task of leading an army against Ladakh. After considerable hesitation, due to his scruples as a devout Buddhist against shedding blood even for a righteous cause (*M.*, f. 14a-b), he set himself wholeheartedly to his enterprise. Although to lead an invasion through and into one of the most difficult countries of the world was something quite different from keeping order in a bazaar, we may state here at once that he acquitted himself very creditably of his task, at least as long as he had to fight against the Ladakhis alone; of course his army was no match for the Moghul regulars, veterans of a hundred battles in India. He earned great fame both at Lhasa and in the theatre of his feats of arms, where a temple at Taklakot in mÑa-ris is stated by popular tradition to have been built by him and to house his tomb.[7]

Beginning now with the narrative of the war, I shall leave aside for the moment the question of its chronology. This will be discussed more properly at the end of my reconstruction of the events, when we shall have all the facts before us.

7 Tucci, *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto* (Milan 1937), p. 29. According to *M.*, f. 30b, dGa-ldan died in mÑa-ris shortly before the birth of Mii-dbaṅ-po in 1689.

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After consulting the state oracle of the god Pehar near Lhasa and obtaining favourable omens, dGa-ldan left Lhasa at the head of a small troop of 250 men (*M.*, f. 15a). This was an élite unit, composed of picked Mongol horsemen, intended to form the kernel around which to build up an army with the local levies of the frontier districts. This was due probably to the urgency of the situation and to the very primitive commissariat arrangements, which would have required lengthy and complicate preparations to ensure the march of a larger army (such as the one who joined him next year) from Lhasa to the Mānasarovar. From Lhasa dGa-ldan went first of all to Tashilhunpo, in order to get the blessing of his immediate superior the Tashi Lama; he obtained there some material help besides. From Tashilhunpo his journey continued remounting the valley of the Tsangpo upto the district of Sa-dga (*M.*, f. 15b). Here (probably at Saka-jong) he was met by the governors K'ro-bo-dkar-po and Mes-a gsum, and greeted by them with a great banquet. He found here all that he needed for the proper equipment of his army: "They gave him with the utmost abundance everything desired, like various arms fit to be wielded by heroes, good riding horses, tents and many men able to be of help to his army" (i.e. auxiliary troops and camp followers). We may surmise that the expeditionary force was really built up here, grouping together the local levies of the upper Tsangpo valley round the bodyguard of dGa-ldan. When he was ready, he started westwards.

The border was apparently unguarded and dGa-ldan arrived without meeting any opposition to the Kailāsa and Mānasarovar lake, where he, together with his army, made the customary offers and performed the usual *pradakṣiṇa*, a thing in his eyes at least as important as the proper equipment of his army. But the religious observances did not make him forget the political aspects of his task. It was very important for him to have some faithful allies on whom to rely in a country so distant from his base; and he arranged, therefore, a meeting, with Raja Kehari Singh of Bashahr.[8] This meeting, which took place at P'u-gliṅ-braṅ

8 In *N.* his name is written Skyer Siṅg. Bashahr is called K'u-nu, which more usually applies to Kunawar, a part of Bashahr. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. I, p. 124 gives 1639-1696 as the dates of Kehari Singh; but they cannot be relied upon, because the dates of the last three rulers which can be checked from official records, are totally wrong. I may mention that a list (without dates) of the rajas of Bashahr, found by Professor Tucci in the capital of

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in Žaṅ-žuṅ,[9] is not mentioned in *M.*, but it is the main subject of *N.*, and from this document we can glean the main lines of the agreement reached. dGa-ldan, in the name of the Tibetan government, guaranteed unimpeded travel in the mÑa-ris territories (yet to be conquered) to the biennial official delegation from Bashahr to the cities of mÑa-ris sKor-gsum; we may safely assume that it was above all a periodical trade caravan. In return, the Raja of Bashahr promised to join his small army with dGa-ldan's forces. It is clear from the text of *N.* and the narrative of *M.* that this combination took place shortly before the second battle against the Ladakhis, at Byaṅ-la next year. At the time of the meeting, the season was probably too advanced to allow the Bashahr troops time to assemble and to reach mÑa-ris before snow blocked the passes.

In the meantime the news of the Tibetan invasion had reached the court of Leh. The then reigning king, bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1675-1705) seems to have been rather a non-entity. The all-powerful man in the country was his prime minister and commander-in-chief Śākya-rgya-mts'o, who some years before (1673/4) had led two successful expeditions against the small chiefs to the west of Ladakh, and possibly had also turned back an armed intervention of the Moghuls. The Ladakhi sources are silent on his reaction to the news of the Tibetan invasion; but *M.* (f. 16a-17b) professes to know all about it, with what foundation we do not know. According to this source, which of course is hostile to

that state, widely differs from that given by Francke, as shown by the following table, which reproduces the last part of both lists.

Francke	Tucci
Chattar Singh	Kehari Singh
Bhun Singh	Bije Singh
Kalyan Singh	Kalyan Singh
Kehari Singh	Shyam Singh
Bije Singh	Suntana Singh
Ode Singh	Aoman Singh
Ram Singh	Bhagwan Singh
Rudar Singh	Rudar Singh
Ugar Singh	Ugar Singh
Mahendar Singh	Mahendar Singh (d. 1850)

9 The modern Puling, south-west of Tsaparang, about 79° 28′ long. and 31° 14′ lat. See Tucci & Ghersi, *Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale 1933* (Rome 1934), pp. 354-358.

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Ladakh, Śākya-rgya-mts'o (called by *M.* Nono Śākya) seems to have taken the situation lightly, or at least to have been very confident: "Hey, my soldiers, listen to me! Some men arriving from the barbarous country of the Mongols, doomed like, e.g., a man who bends his neck to another who is going to strike him with a hammer, are nearing in order to flout the glory of the sovereign by the grace of Heaven, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal (usual mistake in *M.* for bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal). Hearing this, drop every worry, because you must not be afraid. As it is rumoured that these warriors, possessing great treasures, are equipped with fine soft and smooth clothes, good riding horses, whole sets of mailed armours protecting the body from the enemy's arms, terribly powerful fire-arms, sharp and pointed swords etc., march against them, if you want to obtain riches! And every one of their pieces of equipment will certainly be available to you." But not everybody was so optimistic, and there was among the Ladakhi leaders a more prudent party, led by Nono Bitadsoki, who warned Śākya-rgya-mts'o not to underrate the enemy; it was better to avoid a pitched battle, because of the superior horsemanship of the Mongol troops, and wait for the enemy in the fortreesses, of which mÑa-ris is so rich: "For intelligent men it is easy to talk of fighting; but to go actually into battle is not so easy. The warriors marching against us are not men without a purpose and without confidence in themselves coming rashly and in a hurry to this land. Because of it having so been publicly promised by a man (their leader) who is able to practise austerities on himself, who is imbibed with a fearless energy, who knows perfectly well the working of the war ruses and who is a perfect master of the art of war, there is no doubt that these men are approaching with the purpose of fighting us. We must, therefore, prepare for the war after serious thought. Since these men coming from the land of the Mongols are expert in the art of rushing upon the enemy with the whole impetus of their excellent charges in movement, brandishing their lances and swords from horseback, we must not join battle on a desert plain (or at Mya-ñam?). Our army should occupy the slope of the mountain or a strong position surrounded by a moat full of water. A cunning man could win by merely staying out in a strong fortress." But the supporters of Śākya-rgya mts'o upbraided him with cowardice and reiterated their decision to fight in the open, lured above all by the prospect of rich booty.

The Ladakhi troops started thus immediately towards mÑa-ris. As

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they were nearing the enemy, the braggarts who had brought about the decision of offering battle, could not refrain from sending a formal challenge to dGa-ldan (*M.*, f 17a): "A savage like you dare to approach in order to insult with his envy our liege lord! Well, when we fight it out, if you win, you may tie your horse to the lion-gate of the palace (of Leh)[9a]; if we win, we shall tie our horses to the inscription pillar of Lhasa." This challenge was received with utter contempt by dGa-ldan, who did not even deign to reply. After these preliminaries, which remind us of the heroes of Homer, the stage was set for the oncoming battle.

Where did this first encounter take place? The name of the site is variously given by our sources. *L.* says that the Ladakhis were beaten at Žva-dmar-ldiṅ in Guge and pursued as far as Ladakh. Cunningham (p. 327) calls the place Dalang-Kharmar. *S.* speaks of fighting at Ra-la. *M.* is silent, unless the Mya-ṅam which I have translated by "desert plain" is really a place name. Of these, Žva-dmar-ldiṅ according to Dr. K. Marx, 'is situated halfway between bKra-śis-sgaṅ (Tashigang) and Gar-kun-sa (Gargunsa)." Dalang-Kharmar is probably the full name of the locality called shortly Langmar, to the south-east of Tashigang on the Gartang river. Ra la is the region around Rala-jung (Ra-la-rdsoṅ) on the Singe-Kamba (Seṅ-ge-k'a-babs) river, to the east of Tashigang. All the above indications point to about the same place, the desert plain (mya-ṅam of *M.*) inside and around the junction of the two sources of the Indus, the Singe-kamba and the Gartang, above Tashigang, about 79° 45′ long. and 32° 27′ lat.

The battle took place in the afternoon (*M.*, f. 17b). The Tibetan monk-general in person donned the armour, took his gun, sword and lance, mounted his horse and led the charge of his men against the enemy, smashing them under the hoofs of his horse, killing them with his arms "till it became difficult for him to grasp the handle of his weapons, so smeared had they become with blood." Leaving aside the exaggerations of *M.* (which gives us also a short poem of victory), it is clear that the Tibetans gained a definite victory, because the Ladakhi sources too say so. Of course it was an action decisive only from a local point of view. The Tibetan army, as we have seen before, was quite small, and the Ladakhi troops in this battle were probably only an advance force

9a On which see Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, 78.

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sent in a hurry from Leh to repel the invader. Thus the battle was in no sense decisive for the war. It merely decided the campaign in mÑa-ris in favour of the Tibetans. *M.* says that "the remains of the enemy forces, nearly destroyed and incapable to fight any longer in the desert plain, took refuge, like animals who have been out till late return to their lairs, in the strong fortresses of sTag-la mk'ar (Taklakot in Purang), Tsaparang (capital of Guge), Tashigang etc." Cunningham too says that the Ladakhis, beaten at Dalang-Kharmar, were pursued by the Tibetans as far as Lung-khung. This is a hamlet a little distance from the modern border, on the Ladakhi side; the pursuit thus lasted for about 70 miles. At Lung-khung the Tibetans were checked and driven back, a statement supported by *S.*, according to which the Tibetans were turned back by Śākya-rgya-mts'o. *M.* does not mention this set-back, which is after all but natural. It is difficult to believe that it was an important success for the Ladakhis; and it is sure that it had no influence whatsoever on the course of the events. The Ladakhi rout was stopped on the border of Ladakh proper, and the pursuers were turned back; but that is all, and we do not hear of any counter offensive movement on the side of the Ladakhis.

At this moment dGa-ldan had to stop where he was, in order to refit his forces, to wait for reinforcements and to cope with the problem of the fortresses. *M.* (f. 18a) says that "the Mongol troops were able to overcome the enemy fighting on horseback, but not to conquer the fortresses fighting on foot." For this reason, and also because of the smallness of dGa-ldan's army and perhaps even of its losses in the battle, large reinforcements were sent by the Tibetan government to dGa-ldan, among which the most noteworthy commanders were: "from the Lhasa region widely-read Dam-ru-ba armoured with courage; from the Nags-roñ district (about 84° 20′ long. 32° 35′ lat.) Koñ-po A-po-bkra-śis, Padma-rgyal-po (the father of Mii-dbañ po of whom *M.* is the biography), dGon bLa-ma aP'rin-las, rJe Druñ-du grags-pa (?) from the family of the princes of pleasant Bye ri-stag (Bye-ri sTag-rtse, on the sKyid-c'u to the east of Lhasa, 91° 32′ long., 29° 50′ lat.)." Altogether nearly five thousand men marched out towards mÑa-ris. It was a considerable accession of strength for dGa-ldan, far superior in number to his original force; it enabled him to tackle the problem of the fortresses.

Some of his officers suggested to storm them, others to besiege and take them by hunger. But dGa-ldan rightly decided that siege opera-

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tions in the rugged terrain and short campaigning season of mÑa ris, with troops unskilled in such tiresome work, would only expose his army to heavy losses from the fire of the besieged, use up his food stores and damp the eagerness of his soldiers; and that the utmost haste was called for. He started his army in the direction of Ladakh and this march had an unforeseen and very lucky result. The Ladakhi garrisons in mÑa-ris, intimidated by the imposing array of his fresh and now quite large army, lost every hope of succour from Ladakh and surrendered on their own accord, without being attacked (*M.*, f. 19a). Cunningham (p. 327) expressly excludes Tashigang, while *M.* definitely mentions Tashigang and Tsaparang among the fortresses which came in the hands of dGa-ldan; there is no way of reconciling the conflicting statements about Tashigang, so we better leave this secondary question unsolved.

After his repulse on the direct road Tsaparang-Leh along the Indus, dGa-ldan preferred to make a detour and effect an entrance into Ladakh by way of Ruthog. But he could not succeed without fighting a pitched battle with the main Ladakhi army, drawn up before the Byaṅ-la (Changla) pass to cover the approaches to their homeland. *M.* states that "a great (Ladakhi) army was drawn up in the valley of the Byaṅ-la." Cunningham is more precise and says that the battle took place at Balaskya, and after it the Ladakhis occupied the village of Changla. *S.* mentions as the place of the battle dPal-rgyas, which is probably the same as Cunningham's Balaskya. I am unable to find this place on the map, but clearly it must be at the foot of the Byaṅ-la pass on the Ruthog side.

Before this battle, for which all the forces of Ladakh were mustered, the king of Ladakh and his minister Śākya-rgya-mts'o seem to have entertained some doubts about the outcome, because they thought fit to consult the protecting deity and private oracle of the dynasty, whose name we are not told (*M.*, f. 19a). They got a decidedly favourable reply, and accordingly offered battle to the Tibetans. For some unknown reason, on that day dGa-ldan could not or did not want to lead personally the army, and the command was entrusted by him to his chief adjutant (indun-na-ṣdon-c'en-po) Bu-c'uṅ, to Padma-rgyal-po, to Rog-ts'o Rig-ṣdsin and to the Mongol officer Nam-t'ar-du-grags-pa (?). The four commanders attacked at once; it seems that the issue was never in balance, and that the battle was even less contested than the first one.

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The Ladakhis broke and fled, and the king and his minister, seized by panic, took to flight with the intention to take refuge with the Moghul governor of Kashmir; for the moment they did not go so far, but halted in the village of Tingmosgang (*L.*: gTiṅ-sgaṅ, *M.*: Ti-mur-sgaṅ) in Lower Ladakh. This account in its main lines is supported by *L.*, who say that the king took refuge in Tingmosgang and left Śākya-rgya-mts'o to cope with the enemy. According to *M.* the king took part in the battle; but this slight divergence is of little account.

After the victory, there seems to have been no real pursuit. dGa-ldan advanced slowly and cautiously. From Cunningham's narrative we glean that he occupied Changla village and, probably during a pause in his march, was joined there by the people of Guge, by which name it either means local auxiliary forces from newly-conquered mÑa-ris, or more probably the little Bashahr army. Then he crossed the pass and, having advanced as far as Sakti (Sag-ti), the first village on the Ladakhi side, he halted there, probably preparing for the storming of Leh. But we know from *M.*, that Leh was yielded without resistance by the Ladakhi troops in full rout, and according to Cunningham the Tibetans took possession of the whole country as far as Nyimo (sÑe-mo, on the Indus, about twenty miles below Leh and five miles before Basgo). Apparently, the defeat of the Ladakhis had been too complete to allow them to defend their capital.

When Leh fell in the hands of the Tibetans, the Tibetan officers, "according to the promise made at the beginning of the war, tied the bridle of the horse of the general dGa-ldan to the lion-gate of the palace. The fort of Leh had become his, and the general, being in a mood leaning towards gratitude, lavishly rewarded both the chief adjutant Bu-c'uṅ and Padma-rgyal-po out of the riches and the equipment found in the store rooms of the palace" (*M.*, f. 19b).

The Tibetan success had reached its high mark, and the capture of Leh was the peak of dGa-ldan's glory. What followed was rather in the nature of an anticlimax, and thus it is not surprising that *M.* spends not a single word on the following events, but turns straight to the Moghul intervention. Of course much more happened in the fairly long intervening period than *M.* would like us to know, and this is where our other sources step in to fill the gap. According to Cunningham, the Tibetans, after having taken possession of the country as far as Nyimo,

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attempted to storm the fort of Tumnuz (? place unknown) but failed, and finally they settled down before Basgo (Bab-sgo), then the second city of Ladakh, to which they laid siege. This siege became a very long-winded affair, during which repeated skirmishes took place between the two armies; and dGa-ldan tried in vain to destroy a bridge by throwing stones upon it. According to the confused information of *N.*, during the period between the arrival of the Bashahr corps and the Moghul intervention, i.e. at the time of the siege of Basgo, the headquarters of dGa ldan and of the minister general of Bashahr commanding the auxiliaries from that state were situated at Go-ro (perhaps Daru?) in Ladakh.

Owing to the repeatedly avowed incapacity of the Mongol horsemen and Western Tibetan levies to carry out siege warfare, the investment of Basgo lasted without results for a very long time: six months according to Cunningham, which is quite credible, or three years according to *L.*, which is in contradiction with chronology (see later) and is also otherwise impossible, because no Tibetan army could be expected to keep together engaged in such tedious work during three of the terrible winters of the Himalayas, hundreds of miles away from their base. The siege of Basgo was the turning point of the war. The sturdy resistance of the little town wore out the forces of the invader and gained a precious time for the Ladakhi king and minister, who had requested the help of their Moghul suzerain and needed some time for concluding the negotiations. dGa-ldan, otherwise such a shrewd calculator of the possibilities of his army, committed this time the mistake so brilliantly avoided during the campaign in mNa-ris, and allowed himself to be involved in a hopeless undertaking against a fortress. But in fairness we cannot see what else there was for him to do. There was no longer a Ladakhi army in the field, and he certainly could not think of pursuing the king into Kashmir; most probably he thought that the war was over, and devoted himself to the task of completing the occupation of the country. Basgo barred his way and was the centre of resistance of Lower Ladakh and had to be taken at all costs.

While dGa ldan spent his time and wearied his army against Basgo, the king and the minister of Ladakh (practically the latter only), had not been idle. From their refuge in Tingmosgang they sought help from Ibrahim Khan, Moghul subahdar of Kashmir from 1678 to 1685. The Moghuls never had any expansion programme in the Himalayas, and only

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eighteen years before they had contented themselves with establishing their suzerainty over Ladakh, although they could have easily conquered the country. A few years later they even seem to have suffered a minor reverse near Pal-sa ri at the hands of the Ladakhi general aBrug-rnam-rgyal without trying to avenge it. The Moghul empire was essentially the great power of the plains of Northern India. The mountains held no enticement for them; they waged war in the Himalayas when they had to, chiefly in order to reduce to obedience rebellious feudatories in the Panjab Hill States, but never following there a purposeful policy of expansion. For them, the mountains were the God-imposed northern barrier, to be watched carefully but not to be crossed.[10] Besides, with the departure of Aurangzeb for Rajputana and thence to the Deccan, the Moghul authorities in Northern India, in absence of the emperor and of most of the army, were quite naturally on the defensive, while all the resources of the enormous empire were being marshalled against the Deccan states. But this particular case was a matter of self defence. Beside being bound in honour to help their vassal, the Moghul could not allow the Ladakhi kingdom to be superseded by a far more powerful neighbour, absolutely new to that portion of the Himalayas and fundamentally hostile to them for religious motives. And moreover (perhaps, although not avowedly, the strongest reason of all), the control by this new power of the wool trade route spelt the doom for the shawl industry of Kashmir, on which so much of that country's welfare depended.

The *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri* says that the request of the Ladakhi king was granted by the emperor (then at Aurangabad) on the intercession of Ibrahim Khan (same statement in *M.*, f. 19b). An expeditionary force was formed in Kashmir with troops called from Kabul and other local forces. The command was given to Fidai Khan, son of Ibrahim Khan, under whose orders served several other officers; their names, omitted in the *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri*, are given by Cunningham as Murid Khan, Lashkar Khan, Kahgan Sultan Khan, Yahia Khan and Jahangir Khan.[11] These

10 The only exception of note is the campaign of Shah Jahan in Badakhshan and Balkh. It was due to a romantic longing of the emperor towards the home of his ancestors. It was half-heartedly conducted by the commanders on the spot, was utterly loathed by officers and men in the army, and its costly failure served only to prove once for all that the Indianized Moghul dynasty had nothing more to seek beyond the mountains whence it had come.

11 Fidai Khan's name is misspelt by Cunningham as Fateh (sic) Khan.

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forces entered Ladakh through the Zoji-la and crossed the Indus at K'a la-rtse (Cunningham's Khallach). Here they were joined by the Balt forces of the ruler of Skardo, the faithful ally of the Moghuls in that region for half a century, and by the Śam-mi, or Lower Ladakhis, i.e., the Ladakhi forces still in the field, recruited from the districts not yet overrun by the Tibetans.[12] At the news of their approach, the Tibetans raised the siege of Basgo and met their new enemy on the Kashmir-Leh road.

The place of the battle is called by *L.* the Bya-rgyal plain of Basgo Cunningham Thanskya-tanag. Neither name can be found on a map, but it is clear that the place is somewhere at a little distance east or south-east of Basgo, because Cunningham and *L.* say that the pursuit lasted as far as dPe-t'ob (Pitak, on the Indus 4 miles south-west of Leh). *M.* is rather confused and seems to place the battle at Pitak (which it calls sPi-t'ug) itself: "on the orders of the Padishah inspired by his terrible anger, a great and irresistible army assembled in a near place arrived at sPi-t'ug." But this is inadmissible, because of the clear and concordant evidence of the Ladakhi sources. It is a pity that the Moghul sources give us no help. The *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri* says only that the Qalmāq (Mongols) were defeated, and the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (p. 236 speaks only of the peaceful recovery of the village of Nabsat (? spelling doubtful; place not to be identified) by the Moghuls through the good offices of Fidai Khan.

Let us now study this battle more in particular.[13] *M.* is singularly confused about it, and I am not quite sure that I have always rightly understood the text (f. 19b-20a): "Several men of Lho-gdon (?), who being without apprehension had remained there (at sPi-t'ug), finding themselves in a narrow space, were put to death. Some were led away in the direction of Ga-la-ba (?), the country of the Padishah. And even those who were of righteous disposition (?. mts'an-mai-bags-pa) were dragged on the road of the false religion which gives no light (i.e. Islam). At that time, like when a numerous and countless herd of the strongest

12 This list of forces is given by *N.*

13 From the outset, dGa-ldan seems to have entertained some doubts about its outcome; so much appears to be conveyed by his peculiar ceremony of obtaining an omen through the Śel-dkar horse, referred to in *N.* The text seems to be lacunous, because we are not told of the result of the ceremony.

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bullocks approaches covering all the ground, the king of animals (the lion) being fearless possesses a courage which easily destroys them by its own power, even thus the human lion dGa-ldan; the more numerous the crowd of enemies, the greater became his lust to defeat the enemy. But the king and ministers, courageous valiant and violently angry, advanced fearlessly in the middle of the opposing army, which filled the place without opportunity [of deploying]. Of the mercenaries (bla-ṣc'aṅ-ba) who threw missiles, some were killed, others fled; and even the powerful chargers called Ti-pi-cag (perhaps = Qipcaq?) were taken as trophy. Then, since the Victorious Ones (the Buddhas and their incarnations) can see without obscurities every point of the three times (past, present and future), [there came] through the medium of a clever messenger a letter sent by the all knowing ạJam-dbyaṅs dGa-bai-bśes-gñen (the Dalai Lama), which said: "If the army of Kashmir arrives, let me know it"; [and thus] he opened the door of glorious actions "enabling [the Tibetan general] to put [his feet] on the head of the Nawab. The hopes of those bent on increasing the quantity of their merits without sparing their efforts, doubtlessly, are easily realized. In a part of the night following that [of the battle], the powerful well-wishing protecting gods manifestly encompassed a magical trick, following which the Kashmiri troops, frightened without reason, as if a scream of terror had been uttered mysteriously, fled away. [And this] caused to be hoisted on the top of the world the white banner which was the heroic sign of complete victory over the warriors of that country together with their followers." The following three quatrains are of a religious and moral character and have no bearing on the narrative. After them begins abruptly the account of the peace conditions and ceremonies. Cunningham and *L.*, as seen above, give no particulars; they speak only of the rout of the Tibetans and of their pursuit till Pitak, which, in agreement with the first part of the above narrative of *M.*, gives us the net result of the battle: it was a total defeat for the Tibetan army.

After the battle, according to Cunningham, the main body of the defeated army took refuge in the fort of Leh; then they agreed to quit the country and were allowed to retire to Kashūn (? place unknown). According to *L.*, the Tibetans fled without stopping from Pitak to Tashigang, where they entrenched themselves.

But in this last stage of the campaign something happened which is

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passed under silence by the Moghul and Ladakhi sources, but in different versions is related by the Tibetan. *M.*, as translated above, says that after the battle, as the result of magic tricks and witchcraft worked from the distance by the Dalai Lama, the Moghul soldiers were seized by panic and fled. This seems at first view a popular legend without foundation. But when *N.* tells us that the Moghuls were heavily bribed by the minister-general of Bashahr and a Tibetan officer, and that they went away, then *M.*'s narrative gains quite another complexion. So much is sure, the Moghul flood stopped abruptly, which to outsiders seemed nothing short of a miracle. The statement of *N.* is isolated, but looks so convincing, bears so clearly the stamp of the truth and suits so well the general situation, that I feel no hesitation in accepting it. Let us review the situation after the battle. The Tibetan army, beaten and disorganized, but not destroyed, had retired beyond the border of Ladakh proper. The question for the victorious Moghuls was, what next? Two points should be kept in mind: first of all it was absolutely imperative for Fidai Khan to finish the whole business before the winter set in, unless he wanted to be marooned in Ladakh when the snow blocked the Zoji-la—a prospect dreaded by every Moghul officer and man. Secondly, his object of preserving the independence of Ladakh was achieved, and he certainly had no interest whatsoever to embark into an hazardous and long campaign in the Himalayas merely for the sake of recovering mÑaris for such a broken reed as the king of Ladakh was. So, being already bent on returning to Kashmir, Fidai Khan must have accepted gladly the rich bribe offered to him. He turned back, leaving the Tibetans to settle their quarrel with the king of Ladakh, subject to one condition only: the integrity and autonomy of Ladakh proper must be respected. This condition is nowhere expressly mentioned, but it implicitly results from the terms imposed by the Tibetans on Ladakh.

dGa-ldan too must have been quite satisfied. He had attained all that could be achieved with the means at his disposal; of course Ladakh proper was now forbidden game to him, but outside this taboo he could have pretty well his own way in every point under dispute. I shall further on discuss separately the Tibetan-Ladakhi and Moghul-Ladakhi treaties, but let me state at once that Ladakh paid the expenses for everything and everybody, and that if eventually both Moghuls and Tibetans could consider the outcome of the war as highly successful for themselves,

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this was not at the expense of each other, but only and alone at the cost of Ladakh.

The return to Kashmir of the Moghul forces marked for all practical purposes the end of military operations.[14] This is therefore the proper moment for discussing the chronology of this war. There is a general principle to be kept always present. Not unlike the time-honoured manner of warfare in Europe before the French Revolution, campaigning in the Himalayas was, and still is, closely dependent on the season. No long-distance military operations are practicable in the Tibetan plateau during the long winter months, with their all-covering snow and furious blizzards. Even the most powerful and enthusiastic conquering army has to bow and retire before the deadly power of General Winter. Thus a war in the Himalayas could never be a continuous development of operations, but must be a series of sharply defined summer campaigns, separated from each other by practical suspension of hostilities during the winter. This natural subdivision of the war in quite well-cut and distinct summer campaigns, of which each corresponds to one year, must never be lost sight of; it will much simplify our task.

The starting point is the departure of dGa-ldan with his body-guard from Lhasa. We have a sure terminus *ante-quem* for this event: dGa-ldan was sent out by the Fifth Dalai Lama Ñag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mts'o, who died on the 15th day of the 2nd month of the year 1682. The Ladakhi war was one of his last acts; but it could not possibly have been planned and organized by a dying man. dGa-ldan set out for his campaign in the spring; it could not be the spring of 1682 because the Dalai Lama was then already dead; it must therefore have been the spring of 1681. And here I am in the fortunate position of being able to support this date from a quite independent source. I have in my possession a quite modern little manual on the official seals and the chronology of the Dalai Lamas, with the title *gŽuṅ žabs rnams la ñe bar mk'o ba bla dpon rim byon gyi lo rgyus t'am deb loṅ bai dmigs bu* (Com-

14 According to Cunningham, the peace between the Lhasa government and Ladakh was concluded only after another (fourth) campaign the next year, in which the Tibetans destroyed the fort of Leh. But since there is no mention of this in any other source, and it is in direct contradiction with the narrative of *M.*,-this campaign must be only a duplication of the preceding and cannot be accepted as historical.

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plete register of the tales of the series of lamas and leaders indispensable for all officials, called Guide of the Blind), compiled about 1910. Under the year Iron-Bird 1681 there is the following entry: "In this year the prince (rgyal-po) dGa-ldan Ts'e-dbaṅ-dpal-bzaṅ reduced in his power Upper mÑa-ris sKor-gsum, and offered it [to the Dalai Lama] as an ecclesiastical domain (lha dbaṅ) of the Central Government." As it can be seen, this Central Tibetan date of 1681 is arrived at quite independently of the Moghul sources; and yet it agrees so perfectly (as we shall see) with the chronological data supplied by the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* and the *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri*, that it can be taken as quite correct.

To the year 1681 belongs thus the first campaign, including the departure of dGa-ldan from Lhasa, his arrival in the Mānasarovar region, his agreement with the Raja of Bashahr, the battle of Dalang Kharmar or Žva-mar-ldiṅ and his repulse at Lungkhung. During the following winter dGa-ldan refitted and reorganised his force in mÑa-ris.

In the spring of 1682 he received the reinforcements from Lhasa, accepted the surrender of the mÑa-ris fortresses, marched towards Ladakh, defeated the Ladakhis at Byaṅ-la, was joined by the Bashahr troops, occupied Leh and settled down to the siege of Basgo. This siege lasted according to Cunningham six months, which would carry us from the autumn of 1682 to the spring of 1683, and suits perfectly well with our chronology; on the contrary, between our two sure dates of 1681 and 1683 there is absolutely no room for the three years attributed by *L.* to the siege of Basgo. On the Ladakhi side, the winter 1682-1683 was employed in the negotiations with the Nawab of Kashmir and in getting the sanction of the emperor, then at Aurangabad.

The third campaign belongs to 1683, for which date we have the independent authority of the Moghul sources: both the *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri* and the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (p. 236) place the Moghul intervention in A.H. 1094, the twenty sixth year of Aurangzeb, i.e. in 1683. This evidence puts on an indisputable foundation the chronological scheme given above. In this third campaign took place the battle between Moghuls and Tibetans, the defeat of the Tibetans, the return of the Moghuls to Kashmir and the treaties between the Moghuls and Ladakh and between Ladakh and the Lhasa government. Cunningham gives a different set of dates: Water-Pig 1683 for the battle of Byaṅ-la and the conquest of Ladakh, Wood-Mouse 1684 for the battle against the

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Moghuls, and Wood-Ox 1685 for the (non historical) fourth campaign. But these dates are in conflict with the concording evidence of the Moghul and Central Tibetan sources; we must reduce them by two years in order to arrive at the truth, which is after all a fairly good approximation in a Western Tibetan source.

After the retreat of the Moghuls, dGa-ldan concluded a preliminary peace with the king of Ladakh. This is mentioned in *M.* only, while in the Ladakhi sources the final treaty was concluded by a special envoy from Lhasa (Mi-p'am dbaṅ-po), probably a year later (according to Cunningham). There is no conflict here, because it is clear from *M.* that dGa-ldan only concluded an armistice and accepted the submission of the king, to whom he formally gave back Ladakh proper. The ceremonies of conclusion of the preliminary treaty are described at some length, but the narrative is of little practical use, bearing a highly theological character and employing a host of sanctimonious and moral phrases without any bearing on the actual facts. After a long eulogy of the Yellow Church recited by dGa-ldan, we are told (*M.*, f. 21a) that "the tuft of hair on the heads of the kings of Ladakh Seṅ ge-rnam-rgyal and bDe-ldan-rnam rgyal, together with the members of their family, wearing bejewelled crowns tinkling like cymbals, bowed in homage to the feet of general dGa-ldan." The names here are erroneous. Seṅ-ge rnam rgyal was dead since 1646. He had been the most powerful king of Ladakh, the conqueror of mÑa-ris and the victor over Tsang; most probably his name in Central Tibet remained so closely associated with the notion of the Ladakhi throne, that by force of habit the Central Tibetans continued to call the king of Ladakh Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal long after his death; such occurrences are not very rare in Asiatic countries. As to the mention of bDe-ldan-rnam rgyal (reigned *c.* 1640-1675) in this connection, it is curiously enough supported by Cunningham by the *Vaidūrya-ser-po* and by the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (according to which the village of Nabsat (?) was recovered by the Moghuls from the hands of Daldal, zamindar of the region). But the Ladakhi sources, *L.* and *S.*, both place the Tibetan war in the reign of bDe-legs rnam rgyal (*c.* 1675-1705), and as they cannot possibly be wrong on such an important point of Ladakhi history, it is much safer to accept their evidence. The mistake of *M.* and of the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* may be explained by the very close similarity of the names bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal

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and bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal. The change of ruler had probably passed unnoticed both in Central Tibet and in Kashmir, in which latter country bDe-ldan-rnam rgyal's name was deeply rooted in memory after the treaty of 1664. The two kings in *M.* must really have been bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal and his eldest son and successor, already formally associated to the throne in the lifetime of his father, as was the custom in Ladakh.

M. goes on saying that after the ceremony dGa-ldan "thinking of the true weal of Religion and looking for the future upon the sphere of compassion toward the enemy chieftains," gave back to the king seven fortified towns in Ladakh, among which Leh, sPi-t'ub (already stormed by the Moghuls), and K'rig-se (K'rig-rtse, near Leh) are mentioned by name. Then he laid upon him the obligation never to molest again the Yellow Church and to procure the welfare of his dGe-lug-pa subjects. The king promised full obedience to the orders of dGa-ldan.

After the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace, dGa-ldan devoted himself to organizing the administration of the new Tibetan province of mÑa-ris; he installed bLo-bzaṅ-padma as governor,[15] and left there a garrison of some hundreds of Mongol soldiers. Then he returned to Central Tibet. He passed through Tashilhunpo, where he was received and honoured by the Tashi Lama.[16] Then he arrived at Lhasa and was given a rousing welcome by Erdeni Dalai Khan (*M.*: Dalas Khan) and the regent Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mts'o. dGa-ldan was entertained by them with sumptuous festivals, and formally handed over to them the government of the new province (*M.*, ff. 22b-25b).

The final treaty of peace between Ladakh and Tibet was the work of a high ạBrug-pa dignitary, Mi-p'am-dbaṅ-po. Very wisely, in order to soothe the wounded feelings of the Ladakhi king, the Lhasa government chose as their plenipotentiary a prelate of the very sect to which the king belonged and for which he had begun the war. It was a master stroke of politics. The king of Ladakh, a devout ạBrug-pa, was hardly in a position to resist to the requests of his spiritual superior;

15 *M.*, f. 22a: "chief ruling over more than one thousand homesteads." *N.* seems to refer to him under the name of gZim-dpon dPal-bzaṅ.

16 On the 10th day of the sixth month of 1684 dGa-ldan had officially reported to the Tashi-Lama the conquest of mÑa-ris. Autobiography of the Second Tashi-Lama (Śākyaị-dge-sloṅ-blo-bzaṅ-ye-śes-kyi-spyod-ts'ul-gsal-bar-byed-pa-nor-bkar-can-gyi-p'reṅ-ba), f. 89a.

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and, for reasons unknown to us, Mi p'am-dbaṅ-po showed himself as utterly loyal to the Lhasa government and devoid of any partiality towards Ladakh. The net result was a diplomatic victory for Lhasa, quite appreciable after the dubious result of the war.

The conditions (according to *L.* and Cunningham) were: mÑa-ris sKor-gsum was ceded to Tibet, under the pretence of meeting with its revenue "the expenses of sacred lamps and prayers offered at Lhasa." The border was fixed "at the Lha-ri stream at bDe-mc'og." There were some commercial stipulations: thus, Ladakh was to act as an intermediary in the goat wool trade between Byaṅ-t'aṅ (Northern Tibet) and Kashmir, through the offices of four Kashmiri merchants settled at Pitak. For the consumption of Ladakh itself, the wool produce of Ruthog was fixed, and only the court merchants of Ladakh had the right of going there. The Lhasa government received the contract for supplying Ladakh with brick tea, of which they were to send two hundred loads annually. Crowning all this, a formal sort of suzerainty was established over Ladakh, and the king had to send every second year a caravan bringing tribute to Lhasa. It is rather surprising, if we think of the upheavals in Tibet during the following century, that this suzerainty continued to be exercised and the tribute to be paid nearly till the extinction of the Ladakhi kingdom in 1842. When Moorcroft during his stay in those regions (1819-25) negotiated a commercial treaty with Ladakh, the king asked the advice of the governor of mÑa-ris sKor-gsum at Gartok and of the Lhasa government before concluding the treaty.[17] Also the tribute to Lhasa was still being paid at that time.[18] As we have seen from *M.*, the religious question was solved in favour of the dGe-lug-pa. According to Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, 117), Mi-p'am-dbaṅ-po was left in Ladakh as a sort of representative or resident for the Lhasa government; he alleges epigraphic evidence (Nyurla inscription).[19] But the rGyal-ts'ab Mi-p'am-mgon of the inscription is only a very common surname of the bodhisattva Maitreya, and occurs in many other still unpublished inscriptions of Western Tibet outside Ladakh.

17 Moorcroft, *Travels etc.*, (London 1842), vol. I, pp. 255-257.

18 Moorcroft, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 336: "The ruler of Ladakh pays a tribute, disguised under the name of a present, to the authorities of Gartok, on behalf of the government of Lhasa."

19 Francke, *Second Collection of Tibetan historical inscriptions on rock and stone from Western Tibet* (Leh 1907), No. 108.

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A corollary of the peace treaty was that Bashahr reaped the fruit of its loyal and effective support to dGa-ldan, in the form of the cession by Ladakh of Upper Kunawar, which still forms part of the Bashahr state. We are nowhere expressly told so, but since till the 17th century Upper Kunawar belonged to Ladakh, and afterwards it appears as a part of Bashahr, its transfer could have taken place only on this occasion.

But Ladakh had to satisfy also another creditor. On his way back to Kashmir, Fidai Khan settled his account with the Ladakhi king for the help given by the Moghuls. Here too *L.* and Cunningham are our only sources; these were the conditions: Ladakh was already since 1664 a feudatory of the empire; the Moghul suzerainty was now once more affirmed and the tribute to the governor of Kashmir, payable every second year (third year according to the Tibetan reckoning), was exactly settled in kind and quantity. Over and beyond the conditions of 1664, the king himself had to accept Islam, which he did under the name of Aqabat Mahmud Khan, borne also by all the following kings of Ladakh. He had also to strike coins in the name of the emperor, to keep in good repair the mosque existing at Leh since 1666/7 and to send his younger son aJigs-bral rnam-rgyal as a hostage to Kashmir.[20] In imposing these conditions, Fidai Khan was faithfully carrying out Aurangeb's fanatical religious policy, bent on converting by every means his subjects to Islam. In later times, with the decline of the Moghul empire during the last tragic years of Aurangzeb, this policy was allowed to lapse, and Moorcroft[21] says that "the son and successor of the Raja reverted to the national creed, and the apostacy was overlooked at Delhi in consideration of the encouragement given to Muhammedanism in the court and a small annual present or tribute paid to the governor of Kashmir as the representative of the emperor." These conditions after all were of real interest only to the far-away emperor; but the following one was of the most immediate importance to the governors of Kashmir: the whole of the wool export and transit trade of Ladakh was made a strict monopoly of Kashmir. The importance of this can properly be gauged if we remember that, beside saffron, the chief manufacture and export article of Kashmir has always been the famous shawls, for the fabrication of

20 Cunningham, p. 328. The *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* mistakes this prince for the king of Ladakh.

21 *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 336.

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which a regular supply of wool was essential. And thus it is not to be wondered that the Moghul governors (and after them the Afghan and the Sikh too) allowed the royal house to revert to Buddhism, suffered the tribute to go in abeyance in the long run,[22] but always clung steadfastly and successfully to their right of monopoly of the wool trade. Moorcroft[23] says that in his time "about eight hundred loads of wool are annually exported to Kashmir, to which country, by ancient custom and engagements, the export is exclusively confined, and all attempts to convey it to other countries are punished by confiscation."

The Moghul themselves had no territorial claims on Ladakh, and contented themselves with the cession of the village of Nabsat (? spelling doubtful and locality unknown; perhaps in Dras or Purig). But a substantial cession was made in favour of Raja Bidhi Singh of Kulu (reigned 1672-88), who seems to have given help to the Moghuls and was now rewarded with the annexation to his state of Upper Lahul, which to this day remains a part of Kulu.[24] Purig and some tracts of Baltistan, conquered by the Ladakhis in 1673-4, were restored to their former independence, and we find them by Mir Izzet-Ullah's time (1812) under the suzerainty of the Afghan governor of Kashmir.

This war, the only conflict between Tibetan and Indian troops before 1904, was an offensive one from the part of the Lhasa government, motivated chiefly by religious and economic motives. From the Moghul point of view it was a mere secondary operation of local character, an intervention in order to save from a potential enemy the glacis of the Kashmir fortress; it bore thus an essentially defensive character, and the motives were political and also, in a high degree, economic. If one looks deeply into the matter, there is always looming up as an incentive, in the form of a right to be defended or of a tribute or monopoly to be imposed, the wool trade. Wool has certainly not been the cause of the war, but it has been an important factor, always to be reckoned with in the relations between the various powers in Western Himalayas. This aspect of this and other conflicts in those regions are nearly always for-

22 In Mir Izzet-Ullah's time (1812) the suzerainty of Kashmir was still acknowledged, but the tribute was no longer paid.

23 *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 347.

24 Hutchison & Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States* (Lahore 1933-1934), vol. II, p. 462.

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gotten, and it seemed necessary to me to give it its due place, without at the same time over-emphasizing its influence on the course of the events.

As to Ladakh, there is little to be said. It suffered the fate of all countries which tried to build an empire without that indispensable foundation, a sufficiently large population of the home country. By the imperialistic policy of its kings, Ladakh awakened the jealousy of the one of their mighty neighbours, had to ask the help of the other, and was crushed in the impact between the two, having to pay the expenses for both and to accept their double suzerainty. Ladakh never recovered from this blow and lingered on till its extinction as an independent state by the Dogras of Jammu in 1842.

L. Petech

APPENDIX A.

Text and translation of the passage concerning Ladakh in the *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri-i-Azami*, fol. 147a.

Text.

دیگر آمدنی قلماق بقرهٔ تبت کلان و استعانت راجه تبت از
حضور بوساطت ابراهیم خان و تعین شدن افواج کابل با مداد راجه
تبت بسرداری فدائی خان پسر ابراهیم خان - چون فدائی خان و
خوانین دیگر هزیمت فوج قلماق داده و تسخیر تبت کرده مراجعت
کشمیر نمودند نیز نمجال تبت را با غنایم و اموال بسیار همراه آوردند -

Translation.

And the other [event of the year 1094 A.H. together with the great flood] was the invasion of Great Tibet by the Qalmāqs, the request of assistance by the Raja of Tibet from the Court through the mediation of Ibrahim Khan, and the assigning of the Kabul forces for the help to the Raja of Tibet under the command of Fidai Khan son of Ibrahim Khan. When Fidai Khan and the other Khans had put to flight the army of the Qalmāqs and had subdued Tibet, they returned to Kashmir, and brought also with them the Namjāl (-rnam-rgyal) of Tibet with much booty and riches.

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APPENDIX B.

The Namgya document.

Text.

ཨོཾ་སྭ་སྟི །[1] དཔལ་གྱི་ཆོས་འཁོར་[2]ལྡེ་སའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་འདིར། - སངས་ཆེན་ཆོས་བཞིན་སྐྱོང་བ་གཉའ་སངས་མཆོག་[3]གི་ཞལསྔ་པད་དུང་ཁ་ཞུས་པ། སྲོན་དུས་སྐུ་སོ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡར་མར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བཟང་འདུན་གྱི[4] དཀར་འཆི་དེ་[5]གནས་ཤུལ་བསྟན་པ་ནི། དེ་བཞིན་ཡིན་ཏེ་ཐོག་མར་མངའ་རི་སྐོར་གསུམ་གྱ་གེར་[6] བདག་པོའི་མངའ་འོག་ཡིན་པའི་དུས་སུ། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོས་[7]སྐུད་པ་ཡིན། མངའ་རི་མར་ཡྱལ་མར་སྦས་ལ་དྭགས་ཁྲ་ན་གཉིས་བར་ལགཱ་ མཉམ་རྒྱག་སྐུད་ཆོག་པ་ཡོད་པ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་གཞུང་[9]སའི་དབོན་དགའ་ལྡན་ཆོ་དབང་ལ་ལྷ་སྐབས་ འགྲོའི་ལུང་བསྟན་རྣམས་ཡེགཱ་འཛེབས་འབྱུང་བ་དང། ད་ལྟ་ཁྱེད་རང་མངའ་རི་ཐུགས་སུ་ དམག་དབོན་ལ་ ཕྱིན་ན་མངའ་རི་མར་ཡྱལ་ཁྱོད་རང་ གི་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་འགྱུར་ཡོང་གསུང་བ་དང། དབོན་དགའ་ལྡན་ཆོ་དབང་དེ་བཞིན་ མངའ་རི་ཐུགས་སུ་དམག་དབོན་ལ་བྱོན་པ་དང། ཁྲ་ན་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱིར་སེང་གི་སྐའི་དུར་སུ་མཐའ་ ཐུགས་སུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལྡ་དང་རྒྱལ་ ཐུན་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ལ་རྩོད་པ་དམག་བསྐྱང་བསྐྱལ་ཀྱང། ཚུར་ལ་འོངས་མཁན་མ་འབྱུང་བ་དང། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱིར་སེང་གི་དབོངས་པ་ལ་གཡུ མཆོ་མ་ཐང་དུ་སྐྱ་ཁྲུས་ལ་འགྲོ་དགོས་དགོངས་ནས་ཚ་ཐེབས་པ་དང། གཞུང་སའི་དབོན་དགའ་ལྡན་ཆོ་དབང་དང་ཁྲ་ན་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱིར་སེང་གཉིས་ཞང་[9]ཞུང་གྱ་གི་བུ་སྤྲིང་བྱང་ཟེར་བ་དེར། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡར་མར་གཉིས་ཞལ་ བཟོས་ལ་མཇད་པའི་གནས་ཆོག་སྐྱལ་བ་དེ་བཞིན་སྟེ། འཇམ་སྤྲིང་ས་ཡི་ལྟེ་[12]

Ms: 1 ཨོཾ་སོ་སྟེ་ 2 ཁོར་ 3 ཆོག་ 4 གྱིས་ 5 ཆོའི་ 6 བྱོ་ 7 པའི་ 9 བྱང་ 10 མཁྱ་ 11 མཆོའི་ 12 སྟེ་

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བ་དུས་གསུམ་ ངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཐོ་བྱང་གང་ངས་དེ་[13]སེ་ནམ་ལྟ་དང ། རྒྱ་སྟེང་ཆེན་མོ་གཡུ་མཆོ་མ་ཡང་ནམ་སྐམ་དང ། འདབ་ཆགས་ཐོ་རོག་ནག་པོ་ལ་སྐྱ་དཀར་ནམ་འགྲེའི་བར་དང ། སྐལ་བ་ནས་སྟོང་བར ། དཀར་འཆོའི་[11]འགྲོལ་[14]ལམ་བཟང་པོ་ཤིན་དུ་སྐྱོང་དགོས་བའི་ལྟ་[15]རྟེ་ཐོག་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡང་མར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ས་མཚམས་ཀོར་གྱི་ལས་རོན་སྐྱེ་འགྲེའི་བའེ་[16]ཐབས་ སུ་འགྱུར་བའི་ཕྱིར ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡང་མར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ་ཐོ་ཉ་བང་ཆེན་མི་སྣ་ཆེད་བཏང་[17]དགོས་ཀྱིས་གནས་ཆོག་ཤིན་དུ་བཙོན་[18]པ་མང་འ་རི་ཇོང་མགོ་གཉེ་རུ་བྱང་[19]བུ་རང་རྩ་ཐོག་གཉའ་སྐར་དུ་ ལོ་གསུམ་ བར་དུ་ཁུ་ན་ ནས་ཐོ་ཉ་ཇོང་ བསྟད་[20]བྱས་[21]དགོས་པ་དང ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡང་མར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མི་སྣ་སྟོད་སྨད་གང་དུ་ཡྱིན་ཀྱང་ཆ་རིགས་ལ་ཁྲལ་[22]རེགས་སྐུ་གང་འགྲོང་[23]དགོས་མེད་པ་དང ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡང་མར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དཀར་འཆོའི་[5]འགྲོལ་[14]ལམ་དུག་ཐོར་དང་མཆོན་ཆ་[24]བཞིན་དམིགས་[25]མེད་དུ་གནས་ཚུལ་བསྟན་པ་ཡིན་ལགས་པ་དང། དེའི་དུས་སུ་གཉུང་སའི་དངོས་ ངཀའ་ལྷན་ཆོ་དབང་གི་དམག་མི་སྒེ་བོ་[26]རྣམས་དང་ཁྲུ་ཀུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྒེང་སེང་གི་དམག་མི་སྒེ་བོ་རྣམས་དུས་ཅིག་ཏུ་ཆོགས་ནས ། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་དམག་བཞག་[27]པ ། གཉུང་ས་ཡི་དབོན་དཀའ་ལྷན་ཆོ་དབང་དང་ཁྲུ་ཀུ་བློན་པོ་དམག་དཔོན་མཛད་པའི་དམག་སྒང་རྣམས་དང ། ལ་དྭགས་ཞོ་རི་ཟེར་བ་དེར་གཟེམ ཀུར་ས་ཐུགས་པ་དང ། ལ་དྭགས་ལྷེ་ལ་མཐའ་[29]མི་ཁ་ཆུལ་དང་སྨལ་དེ་ཤམ་མ་ཟེར་བ་དམག་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཡ་ཆ་ སྐོར་གསུམ་དང་ཀུན་ཆོགས་ ནས་འཛོམ་[30]ཡོད་ པ་དང ། དཔོན་དགའ་ལྷན་ཆོ་དབང་གི་དགོངས་པ་ལ་བདག་གིས་[31]མར་ཡུལ་མར་སྐབ་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ནས་འོངས་སམ་མི་འོངས་ཐེ་ཚོམ་ཤར་པ་དང ། དེ་ཐོ་ཤེལ་དཀར་ལ་ཟླ་ཤུ་མཐུག་མའི་

13 སྟེ་ 14 འགྲེལ་ 15 ལྟེང་ 16 བསྟེ་ 17 དང་ 18 རྩོན་ 19 དྲུང་ 20 སྟེ་ 21 བྱ་ 22 ཁྲལ་ 23 གྲོང་ 24 ཆོ་ན་མ་ 25 དམིགས་ 26 ཐོ་ 27 བཞེག 29 ཐ་ 30 འཛོམ་ 31 གྱི་

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རྩེ་ལ་དང་དཀར་བཀའ་གས་[32]ནས། ཉེག་ཏུ་སྐྱོན་ལས་འདི་ལྟར་འདེགས་པ། སངའ་རྒྱ་སྐོར་གསུམ་སངའ་ཞོག་ཏུ་འགྱུར་བ་འབྱུང་ན། ཏ་ཐོ་ཤེལ་དཀར་ཡང་ཐྱིར་ལོག་པ་ཡིན། དེའི་དུས་སྲུ་དཔོན་དགའ་ལྡན་ཆོ་དབང་ཐུགས་དགྱེས[33]པ་འབྱུང་བ་དང། དེའི་དུས་སྲུ་ཁྲ་ཀུ་བཀའ་བློན་དང་གཞུང་ས་ཡི་གཅོ་ཐོ་ཇོང་དཔོན་དོན་[34]འགྲུབ་བཅས་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས། དསག་སྐར་དུ་གྱིང་བ་གསེར་དངུལ་ལྷང་[35]བཙོ་[36]ལྟ་མཐའ་[29]མེ་དེ་ཆོ་ལ་སྐོགས་སུ་བདང་བ་དང་། མཐའ་[29]མི་རྣམས་ངང་ངང་གི་གནས་སུ་ཐྱིན་ཚོག་པ་ཡིན། དེ་ནས་ལ་དུགས་ཆུལ་ཐོ་གཞུང་དང་ཁྲ་ཀུ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བསྟུད་པ་ཡིན་ལགས་ནས། དེ་ལྟར་བྱས་ན་སངའ་རྒྱ་སྐོར་གསུམ་གཞུང་སའི་སངའ་ཞོག་ཏུ་འགྱུར་བ་ཡིན་ལགས་པ་དང། ཞེབ་གསལ་གཞུང་ སའི་དཀར་ཆག་དང་ཁྲ་ཀུ་ཐོ་ཡིག་ ཆེན་མོ་ལ་ བཀོད་[37]པ་ཡིན། དེའི་དུས་སྲུ་དཔོན་དགའ་ལྡན་ ཆོ་དབང་ཡང་གོང་ དུ་གཤེགས་པ་ཡིན། དེ་ནས་དགའ་ལྡན་ཆོ་དབང་སྐུ་མཆམས་[38]ལ་ཡོད་ཟེར་ ནས་གསང་ནས། ལས་[39]དོན་རྣམས་གཟིམ་དཔོན་དབལ་བཟང་[40]གིས་[41]དཔོན་སྐྱབ་པ་ཡིན་ལགས། སྡོན་དུས་ནས་[42]དཔལ་བར་དུ་ཆུ་ལར་བཏུ་གསུམ་ལོང་བ་ཡིན་དེ། ཁྲ་ཀུ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་རང་ནས་ལྷག་ཆོད་[43]དོན་གོག་ནས་སྐུ་གང་སོང་བ་མེད་སྟེ། སྡོན་དུས་ནས་དལྷའི་བསྟན་པ་ལ་བན་ཆེ་བ་ཡོད་ན། དུ་དུང་ཡིན་ཀྱང། དེ་ལྟར་མི་འགྱུར་བ་ལགས་ཀྲུས ||

Translation.

Om Svasti. In this territory of Lhasa, land of the Noble Religion, before the lotus-like feet of the Exalted Government protecting the great country according to religion, [the following statement] is submitted. Formerly since the old times the two kings upper and lower[1] were show-

32 རྟགས་ 33 དབྱིས་ 34 དང་ 35 བཟང་ 36. ཅོས་ 37 སྐོད་ 38 ཚམས་ 39 ལམ་ 40 ཟང་ 41 གྱི་ 42 ན་ 43 ཚད་

1 It is difficult to get at the exact meaning of this expression, repeatedly used in the document.

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ing the conditions of [those who do] good works desiring the best. Such being [the state of affairs], at the time when at the beginning mÑa-ris sKor-gsum was subject to the Jo-bdag-po of Guge, it was conquered by the king of Ladakh. It was allowed to collect victuals (or custom duties?) equally in the transit between (?) Bashahr and Ladakh [comprising] mÑa-ris, Mar-yul and Mar-stab.[2]

At that time the official of the Government, dGa-ldan Ts'e dbaṅ, got some writings containing prophecies of Devaḍāka These said: "If now you march as the commander of an army toward mÑa-ris, mÑa-ris and Mar-yul will come in your power." The official d-Ga-ldan Ts'e-dbaṅ accordingly marched as commander of an army toward mÑa-ris.

At the time of sKyer-Singh, Raja of Bashahr, in the frontier country 25 kings and 18 chieftains were summoned for military service, but there was nobody who came thither. Raja Skyer Singh thought that he ought to go and bathe himself in the Mānasarovar lake, and he went there. The Government official dG-ldan Ts'e-dbaṅ and the Raja of Bashahr Skyer Singh, at Puling-dang of Guge in Žaṅ žuṅ, the two kings upper and lower had a meeting. At that time, calling to witness Guru Mahāmuni, was proclaimed (?) the firm agreement reached by the two kings upper and lower, to act with the golden good intention (?) of the good works. According to it: "Till the Kailāsa of the white snows, palace of the Lord of the three times, navel of the Jambudvīpa, will melt; till the great lake Mānasarovar will empty itself; till the feathers of the winged black raven will become white; till the Kalpa will change; in order that the actions within the circuit of the borders of the two most noble upper and lower kings, who must completely protect the good path of release [consisting in] the good works, may become the means [for obtaining] the happiness of the creatures; since it is necessary to allow the passage of messengers, couriers and envoys appointed by the two kings upper and lower, the word is completely binding (?). It is necessary that in a period of three years messengers from Bashahr should be sent and made to stay in the capital mÑa-ri-rdsoṅ (=Gartok?), at Tsaparang, in Purang, Ruthog and gŽuṅ-sgar (?unknown). The messengers of the two kings, upper and lower, wherever they go upwards or downwards in that period of time, must not be molested even by a hair

2 Mar-yul is Ladakh proper. Mar-stab is unknown to me.

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with taxes or anything of the sort. The two kings, upper and lower, have shown the proper conditions for the Path of Release [consisting in] good works, without worries about cups of poison or murderous weapons."

At that time the soldiers of the Government official dGa-ldan Ts'e-dbaṅ and the soldiers of sKyer Singh Raja of Bashahr assembled at the same moment. The army was drawn up against the king of Ladakh. [There were] the camps of the Government official dGa-ldan Ts'e-dbaṅ and of the Bashahr minister acting as general. At the place called Go-ro in Ladakh there were the tent (for the general) and the caves (for the soldiers). At Leh in Ladakh the soldiers called frontiersmen Kashmiris and Balti [and] Śam-ma met and massed themselves with the three divisions in the uppermost part (?).

dGa-ldan Ts'e-dbaṅ thought: "The doubt arises in me whether I shall conquer or not Mar-yul and Mar-stab." He tied a white scarf to the extremity of the tail.....(? zi-wa is a word unknown to the dictionaries) of the stallion of Śel-dkar, and then uttered the following prayer: "If mÑa-ris sKor-gsum will come in my power, may also the horse of Śel-dkar return back." At that time the official dGa-ldan Ts'e-dbaṅ became pleased in his mind.

At that time the minister of Bashahr and the Government chief governor Don-agrub, these two together, appeared in the camp and gave secretly fifteen loads of gold and silver to the fontiersmen; and the frontiersmen returned to their countries. Then the king of Ladakh was subjugated by the [Lhasa] government and Bashahr.

In this manner mÑa-ris sKor gsum has become subject to the Government. [More] completely and clearly this is set forth in the registers of the Government and in the great list of Bashahr.

At that time the official dGa-ldan Ts'e-dbaṅ had already gone to the capital (?). Afterwards, this was kept secret by saying that dGa-ldan Ts'e-dbaṅ was in spiritual seclusion. His official duties were discharged by the private secretary dPal-bzaṅ.

From the old times till now 13 royal generations have passed. The righteous Raja of Bashahr has never been wilfully unfaithful, and never even by a hair departed from his pledged word. The above-mentioned [arrangement in vigour] from antiquity till now has a great usefulness for the Teaching. And since it is so even today, we beg that thus it may not be changed.

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The Common Ancestry of the Pre-Ahom Rulers and Some other Problems of the Early History of Assam

The Pre-Ahom or early history of Assam is still in the process of making. All that we have so far is but a bare structure of the recorded history of the Pre-Ahom rulers headed by Puṣyavarman or Puṣpavarman which does not take us back to a period prior to the military campaign of Samudragupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty as described in his Allahabad Stone-Pillar Inscription. This will give, no doubt, a rude shock to the devoted readers of N. N. Vasu's *Social History of Assam*, Edward Gait's *History of Assam*, Gunabhirama's *Burañji*, Padmanath Bhattacharyya's *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Kanak Lal Barua's *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, Buchanon Hamilton's *Account of Assam*, and the writings of other scholars, epigraphists and historians who have directly or indirectly contributed to the progress of critical study and research. I have reasons, nevertheless, to believe that however unpleasant may be the task, it may serve to remove the inertia of human mind and bestir the sleeping and dreaming world. It may open up new vistas of progressive research directed on scientific rather than on legendary lines.

The Ahom rule from A.D. 1228 to 1826 commenced no less than twenty-two years after the unsuccessful invasion of Kāmarūpa by Bakhtiyar Khalji (*c.* A.D. 1206).[1] As proved by the Meher and Chittagong land-grants of Dāmodaradeva, the Samataṭa-maṇḍala of the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti comprising the districts of Tipperah and Chittagong was being governed by the Devas of East Bengal at the time of the Muslim conquest of Gaur and subsequently.[2] The kingdom of Śilāhāṭ (Śrīhaṭṭa, Sylhet) had Keśavadeva and his immediate predecessor for its rulers at this very juncture,[3] while the

1 S. K. Bhuyan, *Annals of the Delbi Badshahate*, Gauhati, 1947, pp. 1, 2, 27. According to the Kānāibarasi Rock Inscription, Bakhtiyar's invasion of Kāmarūpa is dated in 1129 of the Śaka Era (say, A.D. 1206).

2 The point is discussed by Barua and Pulin Behari Chakrabarty in their edition of the Meher Copper-plate Inscription of Dāmodaradeva.

3 R. M. Nath, *Chronology of the kings of the Bhatera Copper Plates* in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, vol. X, Nos. 1 and 2, p. 13.

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claim is made for the Māṇikyas as the then chiefs of the Tipperah Hill State.[4]

Three dynasties reigned in Assam in succession, namely, the Varman, the Śālastambha, and the Pāla. We have mention of thirteen kings of the dynasty, from Puṣyavarman to Kumāra Bhāskaravarman, of twentyone kings of the second dynasty from Śālastambha to Tyāgsiṃha, and of seven kings of the third dynasty from Brahmapāla to Dharmapāla. The names of the predecessors of Bhāskaravarman are met with also on his Nālandā seals. The Nidhānpur copper-plate of Bhāskaravarman, the last and most powerful among the Varman rulers, records also the name of the queens of ten Varman kings from Samudravarman, the second ruler, to Susthitavarman *alias* Mṛgāṅka, the eleventh ruler.[5] Similarly three queens of the Śālastambha House find mention in the copper-plates of Harjaravarman and Vanamāla,[6] and four of the Pāla House in the inscriptions of Ratnapāla, Indrapāla and Dharmapāla.[7] Tradition maintains the name of several Pāla rulers including Dhambapāla (Dharmapāla) as one of them.[8]

The kingdom of Bhāskaravarman was known to the great Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang who visited it in about A.D. 643, as also to himself,[9] as the country of *Ka-mo-lu-po* (Kāmarūpa), 10,000 *li* (about 1667 miles) in circuit. The name of its capital is nor separately mentioned, although its circuit is given as 39 *li* (about 5 miles). The principal city of the kingdom is placed 600 *li* (about 100 miles) east from the city of Puṇḍravardhana (Puṇḍanagala of the Mahāsthān Inscription, modern Bogra in the district of Pabna, North Bengal). A large river (*Ka-lo-tu*, Karotoyā, according to the Chinese work *T'ang Shu*) is taken as the dividing line between the countries of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) and Kāmarūpa and the western boundary of the latter.[10] The Karatoyā became indeed the traditional western boundary of the country of Kāmarūpa which extended as far east as the

4 See *Tripurā Rājamālā* edited by Kali Prasanna Sen.
5 Padmanath Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali*, Preface, p. 13.
6 *Ibid.*, pp. 20 f. 7 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
8 General Jenkins, *JASB.*, vol. IX, Part II, 1840, p. 767.
9 *Kāmarūpa-lakṣmī* in the Nidhanpur Copper-plate.
10 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, pp. 185 ff.

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temple of Dikkaravāsinī[11] (in Sadiyā, Upper Assam[12]). The western one of the two territories subjugated by Samudragupta in course of his India-wide campaign is definitely named Kāmarūpa, the other being Ḍavāka (modern Davakā in the district of Nowgāon).[13] If it had thus been known to Samudragupta as Kāmarūpa in its lesser extension, there is no cause of astonishment that it was known to Kālidāsa by the same name in its entirety and wider size, while its capital on the left bank of the Lauhitya was known as Prāgjyotiṣa.[14] The same is to be elicited from Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita*.[15] The *Kālikā Purāṇa*, too, came to represent Kāmarūpa as the country or kingdom and Prāṇnakṣatrapurī or Prāgyotiṣapurī as its capital town.[16] It is difficult to say with Dr. B. C. Law that Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (IV. 81-83), has described the Prāgyotiṣas and Kāmarūpas as two different nations"[17] If Hemacandra treated (*Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, iv. 22) the Prāgjyotiṣas and Kāmarūpas (Prāgjyotiṣāḥ Kāmarūpāḥ) as synonyms, he had not certainly meant that they denoted two different nations, his meaning being that the same people might be represented either in terms of Prāgjyotiṣa or in those of Kāmarūpa. As defined in the *Yoginītantra*, the country of Kāmarūpa "included the whole of the Brahmaputra (Lauhitya) valley with Rangpur and Cooch Behār".[18] Alberuni placed it far to the east of Kanauj, and knew it as a country, the mountains of which stretched away as far as the sea.[19]

11 *Yoginītantra*, first half, Paṭala 11: करतोयां समाश्रित्य यावत् दिक्करवासिनीम् । Cf. also *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, 85, 2-3:

तल लौहित्यं समासाद्य विन्द्यात् बहुसुवर्णकम् ॥

करतोयां समासाद्य त्रिरात्रोपोषितो नरः ।

12 *An account of Assam* by Francis Buchanan Hamilton, edited by S. K. Bhuyan, Gauhati 1940, pp. 57, 74.

13 Samudragupta; Allahabad Stone-Pillar Inscription.

14 *Raghuvaṃśa*, iv. 81-83:

चम्पके तीर्णे लौहित्ये तस्मिन् प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वरः ।

तमिशः कामरूपानामत्याखण्डल विक्रमम् ।

15 *Harṣacarita*, edited by Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar, vii, p. 184.

16 *Kālikā Purāṇa*, xxxviii 119, Li. 67.

17 *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, vol. XVIII, parts 1 & 2, p. 44.

18 *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, Parts 1 & 2, p. 44.

19 *India*, translated by Sachau, i, p. 201. For the name of the kingdom or country as Kāmarūpa, cf. also *Raghuvaṃśa*, vii, 17: Kāmarūpeśvara; Silimpur

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In the *Mahābhārata*, however, even treated as a Gupta Epic in its final redaction, the country is named Lauhitya or the country forming the Lower Brahmaputra Valley, the Western Assam. This was reached by Bhīma from the places about the Gaṅgā Sāgar (Estuary of the river Hughli) and along the sea-coast and through some lowlands (alluvial plains), all regarded as the Mleccha territories and areas outside the pale of the Indo-Aryan civilization. Bhīma is said to have exacted tribute and collected various presents of value from the countries and places including Lauhitya.[20] Lauhitya (Pali-Lohicca) was definitely known as a place-name to the people of the Midland in Buddha's time, and if it were not a personal name derived from the country of Lohita in the neighbourhood of Kāśmīra,[21] it must be taken to denote the same country as the Lauhitya of the *Great Epic*. The Pali canonical texts preserve the tradition of two Lauhitya Brāhmaṇas, one figuring as the head of a Vedic college (*mahāsālā* at the village of Sālāvatī in the kingdom of Kośala which was maintained on a royal fief,[22] and the other as a person residing in the kingdom of Avantī.[23] The first of them was a believer in the wisdom of keeping one's spiritual attainment secret, and the second was strongly opposed to the Śramaṇa teachers, and he openly abused them, calling them "shavelings, menials, etc.," all meaning renegades or persons who disregarded caste-distinctions. If so, it cannot be said that the Lauhitya region remained altogether unaffected then by the Brahmanical religion and learning even as far back as the 6th century B. C.

Precisely when and how the country or kingdom of Kāmarūpa came to be designated and known as Prāgjyotiṣa (synonym Prāṁna-

Stone Inscription of Jayapāla (*El.*, XIII, p. 292): *Kāmarūpa-nrpater*. Bihlana's *Vikramāṅkacarita*, iii. 74: *Kāmarūpa-nrpati*. Sandhyākaranandi's *Rāmacarita*, iii. 47: *Kāmarūpādi-viṣaya*; Stone Inscription of Jayadeva, king of Nepāl (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX, p. 179); Deopara Copper-plate of Vijayasena (N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 48): *Kāmarūpādhipān*: Madhainagar Copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 111): *vasikṛta-Kāmarūpa* all cited by Padmanath Bhattacharyya.

20 *Mābābhārata*, Bangabasi ed., ii. 30. 24-28.

21 *Ibid.*, ii. 27. 17:

ततः काश्मीरकान् वीरान् क्षत्रियर्षभः ।
व्यजयत् लोहिताम् चैव मण्डलैर्दशभिः सह ॥

22 *Digha Nikāya*, P.T.S. ed., i, p. 224.

23 *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, P.T.S. ed., iv, p. 117.

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kṣatra in the *Kālikā-Purāṇa*, xxxviii. 119) and its capital city as Prāgjyotiṣapura is still a great problem. The Pre-Ahom rulers of Assam came to be represented in the land-grants as well as on the seals as Prāgjyotiṣādhinātha, Prāgjyotiṣādhipa, Pragjyotiśeṣa, and Prāgjyotiṣādhipati definitely from the time of Vanamāla, the son and successor of Harjaravarman (first half of the 9th century A. D.). It may be easily presumed that Harjaravarman himself was honoured with some such epithet. As correctly pointed out by Pandit Padmanath, it is only in connection with the legendary common ancestors, Naraka, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta, that the capital of the kingdom is called Prāgjyotiṣapura or Prāgjyotiṣapurī in the later inscriptions.[24] It is nevertheless important to note that in the copper-plate of Balavarman, son and successor of Vanamāla, the kingdom is still represented as Kāmarūpa and its capital as Prāgjyotiṣapura in the same old legendary context. Even Kāmarūpanagara (identified with Kāmtā, 14 miles S. E. from Cooch-Behār) finds mention in the second copper-plate of Dharmapāla as a town within the kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa.[25] The ancient city of Prāgjyotiṣapura, taken as the capital of the Varmans, is identified with the town of Guvāhāṭī (Gauhāti) which forms the nerve-centre of modern Assam. The rulers of the Śalastambha dynasty founded their capital at Hāṭappeśvara or Hāruppeśvara on a bank of the Lauhitya,[26] while the Pāla rulers built their own city under the name of Durjaya ("The Impregnable")[27] on a bank of the same great river, and subsequently, as appears from the second copper-plate of Dharmapāla, they removed their capital from Durjaya to Kāmarūpanagara[28] noticed above. It is not astonishing at all then that Varāhamihira[29] and Rājaśekhara[30] came to mention Prāgjyotiṣa among the countries to the east of Benares, or that Hemacandra treated the Prāgjyotiṣas and Kāmarūpas as synonyms, or even

24 *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Preface, p. 25.

25 Point discussed in *Ibid.*, Preface, pp. 28 ff.

26 Copper-plate of Harjaravarman: Hāṭappeśvaravāsī.

27 Copper-plate of Vanamāla: Hāruppeśvarāt; Copper-plate of Balavarman: लोहित्यस्य समीपेतदेव पैतामहं कटकं, तत्र श्रीमति हारुप्पेश्वर नाम्नि कटके ।

28 First copper-plate of Ratnapāla: प्राग्ज्योतिषेषु दुर्ज्जयाख्यपुरमध्युवास ।

29 Second Copper-plate of Dharmapāla: कामरूप नगरे नृपोऽभवत् धर्मपाल इति ।

30 *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, xiv, 6.

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that in an inscription of the Gauḍa king Devapāla the contemporary ruler of Assam was described as "the king of the Prāgjyotiṣas"[31]. It need not take us by surprise that the copper-plate of Vaidyadeva spoke of a Kāmarūpa division of the province of Prāgjyotiṣa (*Śrī-Prāgjyotiṣbhuktau Kāmarūpa-maṇḍale*).[32]

The question still remains—what were the names by which the kingdom and capital of the Varmans were known? In the absence of any inscriptions of the reign of the first seven rulers of the Varman line, we have no other alternative but to fall back on the evidence of Samudragupta's Allahabad Praśasti at one end and that of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang at the other. Going by these two evidences, we cannot but think that Kāmarūpa was at least the name of their kingdom if not also that of their capital. The weak point of the first evidence is that it speaks of two territories in Assam, Ḍavāka and Kāmarūpa, instead of one. Connecting Kāmarūpa with Lauhitya of the *Great Epic*, we have to say that Kāmarūpa in Lauhitya was smaller in size than Kāmarūpa as known to Hwen Thsang. The capital of the latter, as described in the Chinese work *T'ang Shu*, lay 1600 *li* (about 267 miles) to the west from the capital of Upper Burma, beyond the Black Mountains and in East India, and 600 *li* (about 100 miles) to the east from the city of Puṇḍravardhana with the river Karatoyā as the natural boundary between the countries of Puṇḍravardhana and Kāmarūpa.[33] The wide expansion of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa under the regime of Bhāskaravarman, the last and greatest known ruler of the Varman family, is evident from the description of his prowess and power in his Nidhānpur Copper-plate, particularly the two items of praise: *sva-bhuja-bala-tulita-sakala-sāmanta-cakra-vikramaḥ* ("he who has lessened the weight of the invading strength of all the inter-state circles by the strength of his own arms") and *samara-vijita-narapati-śata* ("he who has conquered hundreds of kings in war"). From this and other available corroborative evidences one may easily be led to think that the *Yoginītantra* definition of Kāmarūpa is sufficiently wide to signify the vastness of Bhāskaravarman's kingdom:

31 *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, Ch. 17.

32 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, ed. by Ramaprasad Chanda, p. 58: राजा प्राग्ज्योतिषाणाम्

33 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, pp. 186 f.

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नेपालस्य काञ्चनाद्रिम् ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य सङ्गमम् ।
करतोयां समाश्रित्य यावत् दिक्करवासिनीम् ॥
उत्तरस्यां कुञ्जगिरिः करतोयात् तु पश्चिमे ।
तीर्थश्रेष्ठा दिक्षुनदी पूर्वस्यां गिरिकन्यके ॥
दक्षिणे ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य लाक्षायाः सङ्गमावधि ॥[34]

"Leaning on to the Kāñcana mountain of Nepāla[35] and the confluence of the Brahmaputra and Karatoyā, extending as far as (the temple of) Dikkaravāsinī (in Sadiyā), the Kuñjagiri on the north, the western side of the Karatoyā, the most sacred river Dikṣu[36] on the east, as far as the confluence of the Brahmaputra and Lākṣā[37] towards the south."[38]

We have now before us the Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription of Bhūtivarman, the 8th king of the Varman line from Puṣyavarman. It is dated in the year 234[39] or 244[40] of the Gupta Era (about A. D. 554 or 564). Here Bhūtivarman is not connected with any country. He is certainly represented as a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu (*Paramabhāgavata*), while Bhāskaravarman, "the last of the Romans", and all

34 *Yoginītantra*, Jivananda Bhattacharyya ed., 1897, p. 60.

35 The Pali *Jātakas* (Fausböll's ed., i, p. 34; ii, p. 396; v, p. 415; vi, pp. 100 ff.) speak of a Kāñcanaparvata (or Kāñcanagiri) in the Himālaya region (Hiding Nepal), with two peaks between which the river Sitā (Pali Sidānadī) flows down. G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, i, pp. 483 f. Here the Kāñcanādri must be taken to mean a mountain on the bank of the Tista in her flow through Darjeeling.

36 This is no other than the stream called Dikho, a tributary of the Brahmaputra which, rising in the Nāgā Hills flows through the district of Sibsāgar.

37 Kāmarūpa was thus limited in the south by the Lakṣyā river, separated from the Brahmaputra, and it included portions of the present district of Mymensingh that lie to the north of the Padmā or Dacca river. See Martin, *Eastern India*, vol. III, p. 405; B. C. Sen, *Historical Aspects of the Bengal Inscriptions*, Calcutta University, 1942, p. 84.

38 The geographical importance of the description is discussed in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, Part I, p. 2o. It is somewhat risky to say with Dr. B. C. Sen (*op. cit.*, p. 84) that "According to the *Yoginītantra*: the country lying to the east of the Brahmaputra was called Kāmarūpa." But by the Brahmaputra he seems to mean the river in its flow across the district of Mymensingh, separating its northern and eastern portions (such as Serpur, Netrakonā and Kishorganj) from Vaṅga to include them in the country of Kāmarūpa.

39 As read by N. K. Bhattasali, *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, vol. VIII, No. 4, p. 139.

40 As corrected by D. C. Sircar, *ibid.*, vol. X, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 65.

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the later Pre-Ahom rulers so far known are introduced in the inscriptions as devout worshippers of some form of Śiva. He is extolled as a Varman who had performed a horse-sacrifice, which means, as aptly suggested by Dr. D. C. Sircar, that his predecessors in the line were vassals, evidently subordinate rulers under the Gupta emperors from Samudragupta's time. Although the historical genealogy of Bhāskaravarman is traced on his Nālandā seals, at least, from Gaṇapativarman, the fifth Varman in descent from Puṣyavarman,[41] the great importance of Bhūtivarman's reign as a turning point in the history of the rise of the Varmans can be realised from the fact that in the contemporary account of Bāṇabhaṭṭa the historical geneology is traced back just to this ruler through four generations: mahārāja-Bhūtivarman, Candramukhavarman, Sthitivarman, Susthiravarman, Bhāskaravarman.

Dr. Sircar seems perfectly justified in taking Puṣyavarman to be a contemporary of Samudragupta and suggesting that "Samudravarman and Dattādevi, son and daughter-in-law of Puṣyavarman, were named after Samudragupta and his queen Dattādevi."[42] And Bhattasali seems to have contended in vain to establish either that "with the acceptance of 554 A. D. as falling towards the end of the reign of Bhūtivarman, Balavarmma easily becomes a younger contemporary of Samudragupta, ...being identical with Balavarmma of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription" or that "Mahendravarmma (Bhūti's grandfather).....had performed two horse-sacrifices and was probably largely responsible for the distress of the Guptas towards the east."[43]

It cannot, save and except by *suggestio falsi*, be attempted to identify Balavarman of Samudragupta's Allahabad Praśasti, counted as one of the typical rulers of Āryāvarta, with Balavarman, son of Samudravarman and grandson of Puṣyavarman of Kāmarūpa. The centemporary rulers of Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla, Kartṛpura, and the like are expressly and carefully distinguished from those within the Aryandom as *Pratyanta-nṛpatis* or Borderers outside the pale of Aryandom,[44] and the methods and conditions of subjugation,

41 For revised reading of the Seal, read R. D. Banerji, *JBORS* 1919, pp. 302 ff. K. N. Dikshit *ibid.*, 1920.

42 D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 66. 43 Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 65, f.n. 3

44 For the significance of the term *pratyanta* Cf. Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, Part I, pp. 116 ff. Baudhāyana's Āryāvarta, as defined in his *Dharmasūtra*, I. 1. 22, is somewhat a lesser form of Manu's Madhyadeśa.

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too, are different altogether as stated. On the face of it, the Āryāvarta ruler Balavarman had nothing to do with the Kāmarūpa ruler[45] whose name is not mentioned at all in the Praśasti. The rulers and peoples of places from the Gaṅgāsāgar to Lauhitya were all Mlecchas according to the Great Epic.[46]

Three conditions of vassalage strictly imposed on the subordinate rulers of Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla, Kartṛpura, and other bordering territories at the time of subjugation by Samudragupta consisted of paying all kinds of tribute (*sarvakaradāna*), carrying out behests (*ājñākaraṇa*), and coming to pay personal homage on the occasions of a Durbar (*praṇāmāgamana*).[47]

The coincidence between the names of Samudragupta the conqueror and his queen Dattādevī, on the one hand, and Samudravarman and Dattādevi, son and daughter-in-law of Puṣyavarman, the first ruler of the Varman dynasty, on the other, needs an explanation. It is not a matter of accident. Bhattasali has nothing to say about it. The naming of Samudravarman and Dattādevī after Samudragupta and his queen Dattādevī, presumably at the instance of Puṣyavarman and on the occasion of the installation of Samudravarman to the office of a Crown Prince, is suggestive indeed of the relation between the stern (*pracaṇḍa-śāsana*) king overlord and the faithful vassal seeking to please, and Dr. Sircar cites a parallel instance from the Perrugonda grant of the Gaṅgas.[48]

One may go perhaps a step further and suggest that Puṣyavarman was the first Indo-Aryan ruler set up by Samudragupta over the two territories of Kāmarūpa and Ḍavāka unified into a single kingdom. None can or should deny it as a fact if Bhattasali simply means to say that the process leading to the assertion of independence by the Varmans of Kāmarūpa commenced earlier, *i.e.*, before Bhūtivarman, even without specifically bringing Mahendravarman into play. The above

45 Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, pp. 290 f.

46 *Mahābhārata*, ii. 30. 25-27.

47 Dr. B. C. Sen takes, through an oversight, (*op. cit.*, p. 209) the clause *paritoṣita-pracaṇḍa-śāsanasya* to imply the idea of carrying out all his (Samudragupta's) imperious behests. The whole of the compound is to be taken to mean "he whose strong orders were satisfied by (agreeing) to pay all manner of tribute, etc."

48 D. C. Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 176.

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suggestion, that the first Indo-Aryan rule favourable to Brahmanism was founded in Kāmarūpa with Puṣyavarman as the first ruler under Samudragupta, receives its support from these two facts: (1) that Bhagadatta the great legendary ancestor of the Varmans, is described in the Nidhānpur grant of Bhāskaravarman as Indrasakhaḥ, "The friend of Indra (the heavenly prototype of the earthly Indo-Aryan monarch)", and his father and predecessor Naraka as one begotten of the Varāha form of Viṣṇu, and (2) the descent claimed, as known to Hwen Thsang, by the Varmans from "the god Nārāyaṇa." If thus the earlier rulers of the Varman line were Vaiṣṇavas, at least up till Bhūtivarman, their change of faith from Viṣṇu to Śiva gives rise to another problem of some importance as to when, how and why.

The copper-plates of the Pre-Ahom rulers of Kāmarūpa-Prāgjyotiṣa give rise to a difficult and serious problem by (according to all the three dynasties) a common legendary ancestry as represented by Naraka and Bhagadatta, by Naraka, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta as mentioned in the Nidhānpur grant of Bhāskaravarman, and by Bhagadatta, Puṣpadatta[49] and Vajradatta of Naraka's line as represented by the emissary from Kāmarūpa to Harṣa's court.[50]

The Pāla rulers were interested in having it recorded in their grants that the Śālastambhas as monarchs of Mleccha origin were impostors to the Naraka line, while as true descendants of the Varmans, they deserved to be hailed by the people of Prāgjyotiṣa to their ancestral throne on the demise of Tyāgsiṃha, the 21st or last Śālastambha king who died without leaving a male issue. In other words, the Varmans were the genuine descendants of Naraka and Bhagadatta and they their *bonafide* successors, while the Śālastambhas managed to usurp the throne of Prāgjyotiṣa by taking advantage of a misrule which prevailed towards the end of Bhāskaravarman's career.[51] They found it expedient nevertheless to get the learned and influential Brāhman recipients of the land-grants to father on them the Naraka-Bhagadatta

49 As explained by Pandit Padmanath (*op. cit.*, Preface, pp. 10 f., f.n. 2), *Puspadatta* is a misplaced misnomer for Puṣyavarman, the historical founder of the Varman dynasty.

50 *Harṣacarita*, vii: महात्मस्तस्य (नरकस्य) अन्वये भगदत्त-पुष्पदत्त-वज्रदत्त प्रभृतेषु व्यतितेषु बहुषु मेरुपमेषु महत्षु महीपालेषु ।

51 First Copper-plate of Ratnapāla, *ślokas*, 8-10.

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lineage of hallowed memory and make the people believe that they were pledged to one and the same tradition of good rule, and here they proved true to their word. Whether fictitious or real, the inscriptions go to prove that the legendary common ancestry was amply justified by the same method of administration, state policy, personal religion, cultural interest, and works of public utility. The change of dynasties did not mean any catastrophic change in the life and lot of the people brought about by an alien rule. The continuity of the Naraka rule in Kāmarūpa through three dynasties is almost unbroken,[52] and this may be established as a fact on four unassailable data of chronology: (1) the dating of the rock inscription of Bhūtivarman in terms of the year 234 or 244 of the Gupta Era, (2) the contemporaneity of Bhāskaravarman and Harṣavardhana taken along with the visit of Hwen Thsang in the first half of the 7th century, (3) the dating of the Tejpur Rock Inscription of Harjaravarman in the year 510 of the Gupta Era (*c.* A.D. 829-30), and (4) the dating of the first unsuccessful Turki invasion of Kāmarūpa in the Kānāibarasi Rock Inscription in the year 1129 of the Śaka Era (*c.* A.D. 1205-6). The replacement of the Gupta Era by the Śaka and the continuance of the latter era in the Ahom *Burañjis* and other records call undoubtedly for an explanation which may possibly be found in the fact that the Ahoms themselves were somehow or other connected with the Naras or Shaven-headed Śakas of the *Khila Harivaṁśa*.

We have yet to discuss the question—Were the Varmans themselves the true Narakas or the legendary descent from Naraka and Bhagadatta was equally an intentional fabrication in their case? The authenticity of the legends of Naraka and Bhagadatta as the basis of the political history of Kāmarūpa has been subjected to critical examinations at least by two writers, Mr. D. R. Mankad and Pandit Jayakanta Mishra after Pandit Padmanath, arriving at two different conclusions. Mankad takes his stand on the legend in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* and *Haragaurīsaṃvāda*,[53] and Mishra on the evidence of the *Great Epic*.[54] But the mystery remains yet unsolved and confusion is worse confounded.

52 For a controversy on the chronology of the Kāmarūpa kings between D. N. Mukerji and Bishweswar Chakravarti, see *Indian Culture*, April, 1939 and January, 1940.

53 *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvali*, Preface, pp. 1 ff.

54 *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, vol. X, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 14 ff.

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Mankad has sought to establish[55] that Naraka is a dynastic name like Janaka. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* offers us the stories of two Narakas, the first of whom was a righteous king who upheld the Indo-Aryan tradition and the second turned out to be irreligious in the sense that he became hostile to Brahmanism. The Naraka line of kings reigned for one full *yuga* from the end of the Tretā to that of the Dvāpara Age. The *Haragauri-saṃvāda* gives us the initials of the names of 24 or 25 kings of the Naraka line (*Narakānvaya*). Treating them as 25 king-units, according to Manvantara-Caturyuga methods, the length of their reign can be calculated as comprising 1,000 (25 × 40) years. The dynastic name Naraka is just a synonym of Janaka, and the *Kālikā Purāṇa* leads us to think that the first Naraka king was "an irregular son of king Janaka by a nurse named Bhūmi". Sīradhvaja Janaka was the father-in-law of Rāma. The first Naraka founded and consolidated the first Aryan rule in the kingdom of Kāmarūpa after defeating the then Kirāta chief Ghaṭaka and establishing himself as the king of that country. It was then the last Naraka who by his hostile action to Brahmanism proved to be an *asura* or demon-like who was killed by Kṛṣṇa, and not the first Naraka.[56]

Mishra feels constrained to notice the contradictory character of the Naraka-Bhagadatta legends as they developed in the different books of the *Great Epic* and in the *Khila-Harivaṃśa* and the different *Purāṇas*. Bhagadatta who is described as the grandson of Naraka in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* came to be related to the latter as his son and successor in the *Bhāgavata* (X. 59), while such earlier texts as the *Great Epic*, *Harivaṃśa* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (V. 29) keep us in the dark about the relation which existed between them. The only fact of historical worth to be gleaned from them is that Bhagadatta came to be established in the sovereignty of Prāgjyotiṣapura after the death of Naraka associated with another Daitya or Asura called Muru (variant Mura). In some sections of the *Great Epic* Bhagadatta is represented as a Yavana or Mleccha ruler, although "a friend of Indra" who sided with the wrong-doers, Duryodhana, etc. It is in the *Droṇaparva* alone that Naraka gave Bhagadatta the Vaiṣṇavāstra which his mother Pṛthvī (i. e., Bhūmi) obtained as a boon from Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) when he

55 *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, vol. XI, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 3 ff.
56 Mankad, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 ff.

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awoke from his sleep for 1,000 years. There is much reason for the opinion that neither Naraka nor Bhagadatta had any hand in the matter of Aryanisation of Ancient Assam. It is not clear why Kṛṣṇa should have run from Dvārakā in Western India to Prāgjyotiṣapura in Assam, almost crossing the whole width of Northern India.[57]

Although inclined all along to credulity and to believe that Prāgjyotiṣa and Prāgjyotiṣapura as mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, Ch. 42) and *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṃśa* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, were names respectively for the country of Kāmarūpa and its ancient capital which is modern Gauhāti, Pandit Padmanath could not but feel some amount of mental embarrassment in reconciling the geographical locations suggested in the two Sanskrit epics.[58]

So far as we are concerned, the Naraka-Bhagadatta legends in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* have nothing to suggest which is of historical importance but the existence of a Kirāta rule in Kāmarūpa-Prāgjyotiṣapura before the establishment of the first Indo-Aryan government and the family connection of the first Indo-Aryan rulers favouring Brahmanism with the royal house of Videha. Both Prāgjyotiṣa and Prāgjyotiṣapura were names transplanted from the Eastern Punjab to Lauhitya or Ancient Assam. Mishra's difficulties are praiseworthy, but he has failed to furnish the geographical data for solving the mystery. What are these data?

It is clear from the inscriptions and *Buraṅjis* that their composers indulged in menacious fictions when they deliberately intended to invest each ruling dynasty of Assam with a halo of antiquity and heroic origin, availing themselves of certain heroes and their legends in the *Great Epic*. The territorial epithet, Prāgjyotiṣādhipa, adorning the name of the Pre-Ahom rulers, was definitely borrowed from the *Great Epic*[59] which speaks of Prāgjyotiṣa as the kingdom[60] and of Prāgjyotiṣapura as its capital city.[61] Kāmarūpa does not find mention in connection with Naraka and Bhagadatta.[62] The location of Prāgjyotiṣa

57 Mishra, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 ff.

58 *Kāmarūpasāsanāvali*, Preface, pp. 1 ff.

59 *Mahābhārata*, ii. 51. 14.

60 *Ibid.*, ii. 26. 7: प्राग्ज्योतिषमुपाद्रवत् ii-51. 14.

61 *Ibid.*, V. 48. 80: प्राग्ज्योतिषं नाम बभूव दुर्गं पुरं घोरमसुराणामथ्य

cf. *Harivaṃśa*, Viṣṇuparva, Chs. 63-64.

62 Son and successor of Bhagadatta in *Ibid.*, Aśvamedhaparva, Ch. 75-76.

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and its capital as suggested in the *Great Epic* is absolutely clear, topographically accurate and historically conclusive. The kingdom is placed in the Eastern Punjab in an environment of Śākaladvīpa, Kulinda-viṣaya[63] or Haimavata region, and Trigarta. According to the *Sabhāparva*, 26. 3. 9 and 27. 2. 9, Arjuna started his northern campaign from Indraprastha to proceed to the Kulinda-viṣaya comprising Ānarta, Kālakūṭa, Kulinda proper and Sumaṇḍala and from there to Śākaladvīpa counted among the seven island territories, from Śākaladvīpa to Prāgjyotiṣa, and from Prāgjyotiṣa to Ulūka in the Upper Punjab through the inner, outer and adjacent belts of the Lower Himalayan range. In the *Vanaparva*, 253. 4-7, the Haimavata or Central Himalayan territory with the Nepāla territory (Nepāla-viṣaya) in its eastern extension is located just above (*i. e.*, to the north of) the kingdom of Bhagadatta meaning Prāgjyotiṣa.[64] In the *Aśvamedhaparva*, chs. 74-75, Prāgjyotiṣa is placed in the immediate neighbourhood of Trigarta.

The descriptions in the *Great Epic* indicate that the Kulinda territory is identical with the Haimavata or Himalayan region (Pali Himavanta-padesa) to the west of Nepāla-visaya. It is the same country as Ptolemy's *Kylindrine* or the region of the lofty mountains containing the sources of the Vipāśā (Beas), the Śatadru (Sutlej), the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā.[65] The name of Kālakūṭa included in this region is still preserved in that of Kālkā at the foot of the Simla Hills. It is therefore rightly suggested by Dr. V. S. Agrawala that "Kulinda was the name of the country extending from the Upper Jumna to the Sutlej including the Simla Hill States and parts of Dehra Dun".[66] It seems probable that Sumaṇḍala included in the same region denoted

The Karṇaparva, 5-29, mentions Kṛtaprajña, as noted by Pandit Padmanath, also as a son of Bhagadatta.

63 A town in the Sadiyā division of Aṣsam bore the name of Kulindanagara.

64 *Mahābhārata*, iii. 4-7:

अथोत्तरं दिशं गन्त्वा वशे चक्रे नराधिपान् ।
प्रययौ च दिशाः सर्वान नृपतिन् वसमानयत् ॥
स हैमवतिकान् जित्वा करं सर्वानादापयत् ।
नेपाल विषये ये च राजानस्तानवजयत् ॥
अवतीर्य ततः शैलात् पूर्वं दिशमभिद्रुतः ।

65 McCrindle *Ptolemy*, pp. 105 ff.

66 *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, vol. XVI, Part I, p. 35.

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the League of six States with Trigarta counted as one of them (Trigarta-ṣaṣṭha).[67] Dr. Agrawalla suggests that "the name Trigarta implies the valleys of three rivers, *viz.*, those formed by the upper courses of the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej", while its central portion "formed by the valley of the Beas was named Kolūta." North of Kolūta lay ancient Campā and south of it the two states of Mandi and Suketa to be placed in the Kulinda region.[68]

Great Epic goes also to show that the name Prāgjyotiṣapura, the Eestern city of Astronomy, was relative to Uttarajyotiṣapura, the Northern City of Astronomy, located above Pañcanada (Pañcnad) and Amaraparvata.[69] The directional terms, Eastern and Northern, appear to have been conceived with reference to Śākaladvīpa with Śākala (Pali Sāgala, modern Sialkot) as its capital situated between the Rāvī and the Chenāb and below Jammu representing the ancient Jambudvīpa. Hwen Thsang located *Ku-lu-to* (Kolūta) to the north of Jālandhar and *Chi-no-po-ti* (Chīnabhukti) to the south of Jālandhar and the Sutlej. It is most important to find that the traditional seven Islands (sapta-dvīpāḥ) were originally all small territories in the valleys of the Indus group of rivers[70] and that they were not at all imaginary continents as appear in later descriptions.[71] The Śākala or Śāka Island became a Madra or Median colony[72] noted as a Magian centre for the cultivation of the science of astrology and astronomy. Menander (Pali Milinda), the Greco-Bactrian ruler (Yona-rājā), is said to have made the city of Sāgala his prosperous capital.[73]

King Sagara or Sāgara, evidently same as Varuṇa, can be connected with Śākaladvīpa placed in the *Harivaṃśa*, xiii. 763-64, 775-83, in the environs of the Śakas, the Yavanas, the Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas.[74] It may be deduced from the descriptions in the *Great*

67 Panini, v. 3. 116. 68 Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

69 *Mahābhārata*, ii. 11:

कृत्स्नं पञ्चनदञ्चैव तथैवामरपर्वतम् ।
उत्तरज्योतिषाञ्चैव तथा दिव्यकटं पुरम् ॥

70 *Ibid*, ii. 26. 6: शाकलद्विपवासाश्च सप्तद्वीपास्तु ये नृपाः

71 *Ibid*, vi. 11-12.

72 *Ibid*, vi. 32, 6: ततः शाकलमभ्येत्य मद्राणाम् पुटभेदनम् ।

73 *Milindapañha*, p. 1: अत्थि योनकानं सागलं नाम नगरं नानापुटभेदनम् ।

74 The *Harivaṃśa* relates that king Sagara who was determined at first to [illegible] the Śakas Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas relented after-

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Epic that Naraka and Muru (Mura) were tribal rather than dynastic names, the chiefs of the tribes themselves being represented by them. The Narakas as worshippers of the Demons (Daityas, Asuras) were the autochthones (*bhaumaḥ*, i.e., *bhūmiputraḥ*)[75] of a place adjacent to the Varāha Peak of the Himalayas,[76] the fact which lay at the back of the later legends representing Naraka, the first ruler of Prāgjyotiṣa, as a son of the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu by his wife Bhūmi.

In the *Sabhāparva* of the *Great Epic*, ii, 14.15-16, Bhagadatta is characteristically described as—

मुरुञ्च नरकञ्चैव शास्ति यो यवनाधिपः ।
अपर्यन्तबलो राजा प्रतीच्यां वरुणो यथा ॥
भगदत्तो महाराजा वृद्धस्तव पितुः सखा ।

"The old king Bhagadatta, the lord of the Yavanas, who rules over Muru and Naraka (*i.e.*, the Murus and the Narakas) and who is of infinite power like Varuṇa (*i.e.*, Sāgara) on the west happens to be your father's friend, O Great King."

The *Udyogaparva*, 48.80-85, indicates that the Asura chiefs, Naraka the Bhauma and Mura (Muru), both killed and robbed of their *manikuṇḍalas* by Kṛṣṇa, were the keepers of the strong fort and city of Prāgjyotiṣa.[77] So they were underlings of the Yavana king Bhagadatta whose powerful western neighbour was Varuṇa of the Śākala Island, then a great emporium of trade. Apparently *Bhagadatta* (Bāgadāta) was an old Median or Persian name like *Uṣavadāta* (*Ṛṣabhadatta*). Once we agree to connect Bhagadatta of the *Great Epic* with Prāgjyotiṣa in the Eastern Punjab, it becomes easy to appreciate the significance of the description in the *Sabhāparva*, 51.14-16, stating :

प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपः शूरे म्लेच्छानामधिपो बली ।
यवनैः सहितो राजा भगदत्त महारथः ॥

wards and released the first after compelling them to shave the half of their head, the fourth after compelling them to keep their hair dishevelled, and the fifth to keep beard, which became thereby their distinctive habits. Cf. *Gaṇapāṭha* on Pāṇini, ii. 1. 72: काम्बोजमुण्डः यवनमुण्डः ।

75 *Mahābhārata*, V. 48. 80: नरकस्तव भौमो

76 *Ibid.*, iii. 142. 24-28: वराहेणैक शृङ्गिना

77 These two tribal names survive among the Murungs and Naras (Shavelings) of Assam.

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आजानेयान् हयान् शीघ्रानादाय नोल-रंहसः ।
बलिञ्च कृत्स्नमादाय द्वारि तिष्ठति वारितः ॥
अश्मसारमयं भाण्डं शुद्धदन्तवत्सरुनसीन् ।
प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपो दत्त्वा भगदत्तोऽव्रजत् तदा ॥

The Yaunas or Yavanas were counted in the *Great Epic* along with the Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, Kirātas and Barbaras as terrible Mleccha tribes. Precious stones and fine ivory butts might be procurable in Assam, but the horses of superior and excellent breed as presented by Bhagadatta would have been out of the question if it were not for the fact that his kingdom was situated in the Eastern Punjab as specified above. The *Great Epic*.[78] *the Arthaśāstra*,[79] the *Harṣacarita*[80] and Hwen Thsang's *Si-Yu-ki*[81] give us a clear idea of presentable things among the natural and industrial products of Lauhitya-Kāmarūpa. It will be simply going out of one's way to bring in Bhutan (Eastern Taṅgaṇa) as a territory under Kāmarūpa to account for the possibility of presenting horses to Yudhiṣṭhira of Indraprastha on the occasion of his Rājasūya Durbar.[82] The *Harṣacarita* makes it absolutely clear that the emissary from Assam represented Bhāskaravarman as the king of Kāmarūpa (Kāmarūpādhipati) in terms of the country and as the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa (Prāgjyotiṣeśvara) in terms of the then known capital. As ably shown by Pandit Padmanath, the name of Kāmarūpa came to be dropped and that of Prāgjyotiṣa substituted for it in the later inscriptions since Prāgjyotiṣa ceased to be the capital of the kingdom.[83]

78 *Mahābhārata*, ii. 30. 28:

चन्दनागुरु वस्त्राणि मणि-मौक्तिक-कम्बलम् ।
काञ्चनम् रजतञ्चैव विद्रुमञ्च महाधनम् ॥

The list includes things collected from Lauhitya and places along the sea-coast of Bengal up to Gaṅgāsāgar. Sandal wood, aloe wood, various kinds of cloth, gems, blankets, gold and silver, pearls and corals could be obtained from Lauhitya.

79 *Arthaśāstra*, ii. 11 characterises the aloe wood (producing incense), from Jongaka, and the varieties of sandal wood form such places as Pāralauhitya, Aśoka-grāma, Suvarṇakuḍya and Antarvatī that are located by the commentary in Kāmarūpa. Cf. K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 304.

80 *Harṣacarita*, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-91.

81 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, pp. 185-6.

82 Pandit Padmanath, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. 11, f.n. 1.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

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In the *Harṣacarita*, ch. VII, the emissary from Kāmarūpa is made to say that although a scion of a Vaiṣṇava family,[84] Bhāskaravarman adopted Śaivism for his personal religion, and that the departure from the ancestral faith on his part was due to his strong resolve from his boyhood to honour Śiva alone.[85] It was known to Bāṇabhaṭṭa that Arjuna's way to the Hemakūṭa (*i.e.*, Kailāsa) mountain lay through Cīna-viṣaya.[86] The course of the horse as described in the *Aśvamedha-parva* of the *Great Epic*, 74-86, becomes anomalous if Maṇalūra (variant, Maṇipura) be identified with the modern state of Maṇipura in Eastern Assam bordering on Burma. The consistency and topographical accuracy can be realised if we suppose that the territories through which the horse freely roamed about were all at first situated in the Uttarāpatha or North-Western region, the Greater Punjab. The course of the horse lay from Hastināpura to Trigarta, from Trigarta to Prāgjyotiṣa (on the west), from Prāgjyotiṣa to the Sindhu territories, from there to Maṇalūra (Maṇipura?), from Maṇalūra to Magadha, and from there along the sea-coast to Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Kerala. Turning north therefrom, the horse wended its way to the Cedi country, from there to Kāśī, Aṅga and Kośala, from Taṅgaṇa to Kirāta, from there to Daśārṇa, from Daśārṇa to Niṣāda, from Niṣāda to Drāviḍa, Andhra, Oḍra and Mahiṣika, from thence to Kollagiri, Surāṣṭra, Gokarṇa, Prabhāsa and Dvāravatī (Dvārakā), from there to Gandhāra-viṣaya in the western quarter, and from there to Nāgapura to return at last to the Kuru capital.

The way from the Indus States of the Upper Punjab in the extreme west to Maṇipura in the extreme east (if it were in Eastern Assam) is explicable only on the supposition that it lay through Kāśmira-Jambudvīpa and Nepāla-viṣaya. Although this is evidently the intended course, its description is extremely vague. So far as Maṇalūra is concerned, its name is preserved in that of a village on the Tuṅgabhadrā.[87] It is reasonable to suppose that Trigarta extending from Jālandhar on the east to Kāṅgrā on the west consisted of a group

84 *Harṣacarita, op. cit.*, p. 195: सेवाभिरवो हि सन्तः तत्रापि विशेषेणायमहङ्कार-धनो वैष्णवो वंशः ।

85 *Ibid.*, p. 193: शैशवादारभ्य सङ्कल्पः स्थेयान् स्थाणुपदारविन्दद्वयाद्रिते "नाहमन्यं नमस्कुर्याम्" इति ।

86 *Ibid.*, p. 186. 87 Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, p. 253.

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of three contiguous territories governed then by the demoniac or low-born (*avaraja*) Varmans who passed as Traigartakas. It is possible that in Gartaka lay the origin of the *Kālikā Purāṇa* name Ghaṭaka for the Kirāta chief after defeating whom the first Indo-Aryan kingdom, favourable to Brahmanism, was founded in Kāmarūpa-Prāgjyotiṣa-pura. The Lauhitya-Kāmarūpa continuation of the history of the tribes and dynasties in Uttarāpatha is just a partial working out of the larger thesis that for a correct understanding of the history of the different tribes, states and colonies, and their gradual shifting and expansion one has to go back to the Uttarāpatha region watered by the Indus system of rivers and the upper courses of the Ganges and the Yamunā.

Pandit Padmanath has rightly pointed out that Bhagadatta is described in the *Great Epic*, (i.67.91) as an incarnation of the Asura named Vāṣkala and certainly not as an Asura himself.

The assignment of a reign of 3,000 years to the Naraka line of kings in Bhāskara's Nidhānpur grant is at variance with the legend in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* crediting them with a reign conterminous with the whole of the Dvāpara Age. The Age kept in view of Bhāskara's copper-plate is definitely the degenerate Kaliyuga.

When exactly the Naraka-Bhagadatta lineage was fathered on the Varmans of Kāmarūpa and the name of Prāgjyotiṣa or Prāgjyotiṣapura was transplanted to Kāmarūpa from Udīcya-Uttarāpatha we cannot say. Although the Nidhānpur grant is silent on these points, Bāṇa-Bhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita* leaves no room for doubt that at least Bhāskara-varman passed as the king of Kāmarūpa and the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa (the capital city). Its burnt seal, which is supposed to have been of Bhūtivarman's time, is of the same design and characteristic (standing figure of an elephant) as the later seals, and one may readily concede to Pandit Padmanath that on it the royal author of the grant was represented as Prāgjyotiṣādhipa or Prāgjyotiṣādhipati. But who knows that the resourceful Brāhmans of Candrapurī-Viṣaya had not fabricated a burnt seal as a tangible evidence in support of their claim that they were asking only for the renewal of an earlier grant already made by Bhūtivarman and thereby sought to reap the full advantage of Bhāskara's psychological mood of victory. Even granting that their statement was correct and true, we have yet to answer the question whether Bhūtivarman's predecessors were honoured as Prāgjyotiṣādhipa or not.

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The text of the Nidhānpur grant is altogether a new composition and it cannot as such be regarded even as a substantial reproduction of an earlier document.

If we are thus led to a position in which we cannot think of any recorded history of Lauhītya-Kāmarūpa before Samudragupta's eastern campaign in the 4th century, what is the scientific method to be followed in drawing a reliable historical picture of the background,—the earlier and dim past?' The *Kālikā Purāṇa* offers us an intelligible suggestion when it says that Kāmarūpa was held by the Kirātas prior to the foundation of an Indo-Aryan kingdom favourable to Brahmanism. Pre-historic archæology has made little headway so far. The stone-implements and other rude artifacts hitherto found and collected appear to be remnants of a civilization of the Neolithic men. Who were the first dwellers of Lauhitya-Kāmarūpa, whether the remote matriarchal and polyandrous ancestors of the Khāsis and Syntengs or the remote forefathers of the Bodo-speaking group of tribes, is still a puzzling question. The ancient archæological sites in Assam remain untouched and unexcavated. Recent accidental finds in the shape of wells, pottery and porcelain go to prove that there lie buried the remnants of an earlier civilization at a depth of about 10 feet below the present ground level of the town of Guvāhāṭī. The beginning of the political history of the Lauhitya-Kāmarūpa with the Varmans as the first known rulers is intelligible if they can be somehow connected with the Varmans of Trigarta in Udīcya-Uttarāpatha. The migrations and settlements of various tribes, their vicissitudes and fusions may be studied as much in the light of the information supplied in the *Epics* and the *Purāṇas*, the *Jātakas* and other works as in that of the modern linguistic and anthropological studies. The part played by the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas of various orders and schools of thought who were spread upon the face of India and places around even before Aśoka's time is not to be overlooked. During the historical period we are fortunate in having both inscriptions and local traditions relating to the surrounding countries that have been critically studied and examined. The Pre-Ahom history of Kāmarūpa seems inseparably connected also with the ancient history of Burma, Arakan and Further India as with different countries in India including the Deccan. Dr. B. C. Law may be right in suggesting that the Guhyasamāja cult alone of

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Buddhism gained ground in Kāmarūpa before and at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit. Kāmarūpa was indeed a congenial place for the confidential Tantrism as might be inferred from the personal opinion of the Lauhitya Brāhman in favour of keeping secret one's spiritual attainment. The Cīna-Cīrāta (Cīna-Kirāta) mentioned in one of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions as places in India where the Theravāda form of Buddhism was established in about the 2nd or 3rd century were really places adjacent to Gandhāra. The only inscriptional reference to the existence of Buddhism in any part of Kāmarūpa is in the expression, Tathāgata-kāritādityabhaṭṭāraka, as distinguished from Paśupatikārita-puṣkariṇī, both occurring in the first copper-plate of Indrapāla. Here Tathāgata[88] and Paśupati are personal names of the two benefactors reminding us of the Divinities whose worshippers they were. The recorded early history of Assam may be correctly regarded and judged as an interesting chapter of the history of the Imperial Guptas. The study of the early examples of the architecture and sculpture of Lauhitya-Kāmarūpa[89] bears as much evidence to that as the method of administration, the predominance of Brahmanism and Hindu forms of worship.

Reader's attention may be drawn to Sri Tirthanath Sarma's informative paper citing the corroborative internal evidences from the *Kālikā Purāṇa* in support of K. L. Barua's opinion about its being a compilation of the time and even under the patronage of Dharmapāla. This Purāṇa leaves no room for doubt that the first Pāla capital Durjayā was a city at the foot of the Durjaya hill.

B. M. Barua

88 Pandit Padmanath cannot be taken seriously when he opines that here Tathāgata is a name other than one connected with the familiar epithet of Buddha. *Kāmarūpaśāsānāvali*, p. 129. Even the expression, Āditya-bhaṭṭāraka, may be construed as the name of a Buddha image instead of that of the Sun-god as suggested by Hoernle, *JASB.*, vol. I, pp. 113 ff.

89 R. D. Banerjee, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 208. See for other reference P. D. Chaudhury's *Early Sculpture of Assam* in *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, vol. XI, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 32 ff.

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The Kailan Copper-plate Inscription of King Śrīdharaṇa Rāta of Samataṭa

In *IHQ.*, XXII, pp. 169-71, the late lamented Dr. N. K. Bhattasali referred to my paper on the Kailan copper-plate inscription of king Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta, published in the Bengali journal *Bhāratavarṣa* for Vaiśākha, 1353 B.S. (March-April, 1946), pp. 369-74. I feel very much gratified for his kind words of appreciation, although I am unfortunately not inclined to agree with all his suggestions.

The copper-plate originally belonged to a Muslim cultivator of Kailan, a village under the Chandina Police Station of the Sadar Subdivision of the Tippera District, East Bengal. A cut at the upper right hand side of the plate shows that it was found while digging the earth. It was secured from its owner by Mr. P. B. Chakravarti who handed it over for decipherment to Prof. B. M. Barua. In November, 1945, I was told that Prof. Barua was engaged in deciphering a copper-plate inscription of the time of Vainyagupta (cf. *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1945, p. 18). A few months later, the learned Professor kindly invited me to examine the record and, on the 6th of February, 1946, was so good as to hand over the plate to me for the decipherment of the epigraph and its publication. It took me about two weeks to clear the verdigris, to prepare a transcript of the document and a few sets of estampages, and to contribute a paper to the *Bhāratavarṣa* in which the text of the inscription was quoted with the exception of its latter part containing mainly details about the plots of land granted by the charter in question. Soon after the publication of my paper, Mr. Chakravarti took the copper-plate away from me.*

* Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya has published an account of the Kailan (Kailam according to him) epigraph in the latest issue of the *Vangiya Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā*, LIII, iii-iv, pp. 41-54, a copy of which was received by me on 25-9-47, about three months after this paper of mine was sent for publication to the *IHQ* office. Mr. Bhattacharya received the copper-plate from Mr. P. B. Chakravarti in May 1946 exactly when it was taken away from me. I am inclined to disagree with most of his views and ignore them for the present as they are due to misunderstanding. The village, where the inscription was found, lies 18 miles south west of Comilla and 13 miles west of the Lalmai Railway Station.

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The copper-plate is 10·85″ by 8·15″ and has a heavy brazen seal attached to the left hand side covering a semi-circular space about six inches along the breadth line. The seal is circular with a diameter of $4\frac{1}{2}$″; but there is a projecting knob at its outer end. The circular space on the face of the seal, covered by the emblems of the authority responsible for the issue of the charter, is $3\frac{1}{2}$″ in diameter. This part resembles very closely the corresponding part of the seal attached to the Tippera copper-plate grant of Lokanātha (*EI.*, XV, pp. 301-15). The upper part of the space in the inner circle has the figure of the goddess Lakṣmī standing on a full-blossomed lotus and flanked above on both sides by two elephants holding water jars in their upraised trunks. Below the elephants are the figures of two devotees who are also found in the act of pouring water. Beneath the Gajalakṣmī device described above, there are two lines of writing in raised letters:

1. श्रीमत्समतटेश्वरपादानुध्यातस्य
2. कुमारामात्याधिकरणस्य

Another line, afterwards embossed horizontally on the seal just to the right of the figure of Lakṣmī, reads: श्रीश्रीधारणरातस्य. It will be recalled in this connection that the seal of the Tippera grant of Lokanātha also contains a line reading कुमारामात्याधिकरणस्य in a script slightly earlier than that of another line which reads: लोकनाथस्य. Actually the seals belonged to the *adhikaraṇa* (administrative office, or the board of administrators) of the *Kumārāmātya* (literally, prince in charge of an executive office, or officer of the status of a prince of the royal blood) who was usually a provincial governor. The names of Lokanātha and Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta were written on the seals apparently to indicate that they had countersigned the original document afterwards incised on copper-plate. The signature of the king was necessary for documents (originally written on cloth-pad, *bhurjapatra*, etc.) of gift, although it was only rarely reproduced on the plates on which charters were afterwards copied, because the latter bore the royal seal indicating the king's sanction. Local ruling authorities of ancient Bengal, however, usually issued charters, with their own seals and without any counter signature of the ruler of the country as in the case of the Tippera grant of Lokanātha and the Kāilan grant of Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta. The importance attached to the counter signature by Lokanātha and

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Śrīdhāraṇa may suggest that they were feudatory rulers risen to an almost independent status and that they were eager to demonstrate their absolute authority over particular regions in defiance of the overlord. But Lokanātha's case may require a slightly different explanation (vide *infra*).

The Kailan copper-plate is not in a very satisfactory state of preservation. Some sections, especially on the reverse side, have been badly affected by corrosion rendering the reading of a number of passages in the text of the epigraph partially or wholly doubtful. Fortunately such passages belong mostly to the description of the plots of land and their boundaries. The charter is engraved on both sides of the single plate, the first side containing 28 lines of writing and the second only 21.

The language of the record is Sanskrit prose; but there are six verses, two of them being at the beginning and constituting the *maṅgalācaraṇa*, while the remaining four conveying imprecation. The syle of the composition is Gauḍīya. The text is not entirely free from errors. In the verses, usually the last syllable of the first half is oined in *sandhi* with the first syllable of the second. The orthotraphical and palaeographical peculiarities of the epigraph are those jound in other records of eastern India belonging to the seventh and gighth centuries A. D. No distintion has been made between *b* and *v*. The *akṣaras ṇ*, *v* or *b*, *t*, *g* and *m* are often doubled in the association of subscript or superscript *r*. Final *m* followed by *k* has sometimes been changed to *ṁ*. It is often found changed to *anusvāra* at the end of a sentence or verse and, in a few cases, even when it is followed by a vowel. The epigraph exhibits the initial vowels *a*, *i*, *ī* and *e*, the numerals 2, 3 and 5 and the final *t*.

The date of the charter is given in lines 26-27 as पितृचरणप्रसादादवाप्तस्य समतटाद्यनेकदेशाधिराज्यस्याष्टमे सम्व(संव)त्सरे श्रावणमासस्य तिथौ सितसप्तम्यां, "on the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the eighth year of the sovereignty over Samataṭa and many other countries, which has been received from the grace of the feet of the father," i.e., in the eighth regnal year of king Śrīdhāraṇa of Samataṭa or the Tippera-Noakhali region of south-east Bengal. As the record bears no date in any known era, its time may be determined by a consideration of its palaeography. A careful examination of the letters of the Kailan inscription with those of the records of the time of Śaśāṅka, Lokanātha, Devakhaḍga and Rājarāja of the socalled Khaḍga dynasty,

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and the Pāla king Dharmapāla shows that Śrīdhāraṇa ruled sometime between the days of Śaśāṅka (c. 600-25 A.D.) and those of Dharmapāla (c. 769-815 A. D.) and that he was more or less a contemporary of Lokanātha of the Tippera grant and of the Khaḍga kings. The forms of the letters *ś*, *j*, etc. in the Kailan inscription are usually later than those of the same letters in the Midnapur grants of the time of Śaśāṅka, while medial *ā* and *au*, *j*, etc. are earlier than in the records of Dharmapāla. The inscriptions of the Khaḍgas are now usually assigned to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, and Lokanātha's Tippera grant is rightly ascribed on grounds of palæography to the middle of the seventh century A. D. Similar palaeographic considerations would place the Kailan grant of Śrīdhāraṇa about the second half of the same century. This suggestion seems to be supported by another fact.

The name of the father of Samataṭeśvara (lord of Samataṭa) Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta, in the eighth year of whose reign the Kailan charter was issued, is given in the record as Jīvadhāraṇa Rāta, called, like his son, the lord of Samataṭa. There is no doubt that this Jīvadhāraṇa Rāta is mentioned in the Tippera grant as the *nṛpa* or king Jīvadhāraṇa who was a contemporary of Lokanātha. The beginning of the passage containing the date of Lokanātha's grant (line 27) cannot be read, although the remaining portion certainly reads: [शत*]धिके चतुश्चत्वारिङ्श(रिंश)त्संवत्सरे. It therefore seems that a word indicating the hundred figure in the date is obliterated and has to be conjecturally restored at the beginning of the passage. Considering the palaeography of the epigraph as well as the prevalence only of the Gupta era in the Tippera District as proved by the Gunaighar inscription dated in the Gupta year 188 (507 A.D.), it appears to be almost certain that the above passage of the Tippera grant originally read: त्रिशताधिके चतुश्चत्वारिंशत्संवत्सरे and that the record was dated in the Gupta year 344 corresponding to 664 A. D. As Lokanātha and his contemporary Jīvadhāraṇa thus appear to have flourished about the third quarter of the seventh century, it is reasonable to assign the reign of Jīvadhāraṇa's son Śrīdhāraṇa roughly to the third or fourth quarter of the same century.

The Kailan inscription, as already noticed, is composed in mixed prose and poetry which exhibit the characteristics of artificial poetry known as the *gauḍī rīti*; but the author was not a first rate artist.

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The record begins with two verses, the first in adoration to the god Hari (Viṣṇu) and the second in that of the reigning king Śrīdhāraṇa who was a Vaiṣṇava. The fuller form of the king's name, as known from the legend on the seal as well as the formal part of the charter in prose, is *Śrīdhāraṇa-rāta*. Two other members of the family were the kings's father Jīvadhāraṇa Rāta and the *Yuvarāja* (crown-prince) Baladhāraṇa Rāta, the former being mentioned in Lokanātha's grant simply as Jīvadhāraṇa. These facts would show that Jīvadhāraṇa, Śrīdhāraṇa and Baladhāraṇa belonged to the Rāta dynasty.[1]

The king's order as regards the grant of land made by the charter is said to have been transmitted to the *Viṣayapatis* (district magistrates) of the two districts (*viṣayas*) called Guptīnāṭana and Paṭalāyikā and to their *adhikaraṇa* by the Kumārāmātya stationed at Devaparvata and by his *adhikaraṇa*. The use of the word *viṣayapatī* in the dual and of *adhikaraṇaṃ* in relation to the magistrates in the singular may suggest that the two districts had only one administrative office. The word *kumārāmātyāḥ* used in the plural probably points to the exalted rank of the official and may be rendered into English as "His Excellency the Governor."[2] Devaparvata, one of the provincial head-quarters of the Samataṭa country, seems to have been a hill-fort. It has been styled *sarvatobhadraka* probably because it had four gates one each in the east, west, north and south. This seat of provincial government is said to have been encircled by the river Kṣīrodā as if by a moat. It is said that elephants played in the waters of the Kṣīrodā, both banks of which were adorned by clusters of boats. It is difficult to determine whether merchant vessels or battle ships are indicated. As pointed out by the late Dr. Bhattasali, the river Kṣīrodā

1 For the family name *Rāta*, see the Gunaighar grant, I. 27; cf. *IHQ.*, XIX, p. 19.

2 It may not be altogether impossible to believe that Devaparvata was the capital of Śrīdhāraṇa who in that case addressed the Kumārāmātyas in charge of the capital city and the district round it. The Paharpur inscription of 478 A.D. (*Sel. Ins.*, I, p. 346) refers to the Āyuktakas and their Adhikaraṇa stationed at Puṇḍravardhana which was then a provincial capital of Budhagupta's empire under a Viceroy styled *uparika-mahārāja*. The position of the Kumārāmātyas under the Rāta king at Devaparvata may have been similar to that of the Āyuktakas under the Viceroy at Puṇḍravardhana.

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is the modern Khira or Khirnai, a dried up river course still traceable as branching off from the Gomati just west of the town of Comilla. It flows by the eastern side of the Mainamati hills and skirts the southern end of the hills near the Chandimura peak, where another branch of the river meets it flowing by the western side of the hill. The river thus surrounds the southern end of the Mainamati hills, where the ancient hill-fort of Devaparvata seems to have been situated, and then runs south-west to fall into the Dakatia river.

Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta has been called *Samataṭeśvara*, but is not endowed with any of the titles *Mahārāja*, *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. This is explained by the fact that one of his significant epithets is *Prāpta-pañca-mahāśabda* which is a feudatory title, interpreted by some as indicating the enjoyment of a combination of five official designations beginning with the word *mahat*, viz. *Mahā-Pratīhāra*, *Mahā-Sāndhivigrahika*, *Mah-Āśvaśāladhikṛta*. *Mahā-Bhāṇḍāgārika* and *Mahā-Sādhanika* (cf. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, verses 140-43, 680), but by others as pointing to the right granted by the overlord to enjoy the sounds of five kinds of musical instruments. Whatever may have been the significance of the above subordinate title in regard to south-east Bengal, there is no doubt that Śrīdhāraṇa, lord of Samataṭa, was at least theoretically a feudatory of some other monarch. But his *ādhirājya* or sovereignty is claimed to have reached him from his father not only in the passage containing the date of the Kailan inscription quoted above but also in another passage in line 11 (*pitrā svayam-arpitādhirājyaḥ*). This fact together with the absence of any reference to the overlord in the charter shows that Śrīdhāraṇa was a feudatory only in name, but was actually almost an independent ruler, and that the Rātas probably attained to this semi-independent position during the reign of Jīvadhāraṇa. The latter suggestion seems to be supported by the fact that Śrīdhāraṇa does not trace his descent from any earlier member of the Rāta family than Jīvadhāraṇa. King Jīvadhāraṇa is represented as a *Samataṭeśvara* and as *pratāp-opanata-sāmanta-cakra*, but is not endowed with any regal or imperial title. He seems to have been a semi-independent feudatory like his son Śrīdhāraṇa. Another conclusion deducible from the hesitation of these Rāta kings to assume imperial style and to shake off completely the yoke of the overlord is probably that the Rātas owed their allegiance to an old and established imperial family for a considerably long

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period of time. This attitude is comparable with that of the Nawab-Wazirs of Oudh after the decline of the Timūrid imperial house of Delhi (cf. *Cat. C. Ind. Mus.*, IV, pp. 5, 7-8). But it is not easy to identify the overlord of the Rātas. We have to examine the possible claim of the house of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa, that of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, and that of the Khaḍgas who appear to have originally flourished in the Dacca region of the Vaṅga country. Of these, however, the Khaḍgas probably came to power in the first half of the seventh century almost contemporaneously with the Rātas possibly under the same political circumstances. Both the Rātas and the Khaḍgas appear to have been feudatories of a great power whose decline in the first half of the seventh century gave them a chance to assume virtual independence.

The inscriptions of the Khaḍgas have been found at Ashrafpur 30 miles to the north-east of Dacca and at Deulbari 14 miles to the south of Comilla. They disclose the names of the following rulers of the family: Khaḍgodyama, his son Jātakhaḍga, his son Devakhaḍga, and his son Rājarāja or Rājarājabhaṭṭa. A copper-plate grant of Rājarāja bears the seal of his father with the legend *śrīmad-devakhaḍgaḥ*. This charter refers incidentally to the grant of land made by Udīrṇakhaḍga who may have been another son of Devakhaḍga. The Khaḍgas do not call themselves lords of Samataṭa, although Devakhaḍga at least had a secondary capital at Karmānta identified with modern Barkanta 12 miles to the west of Comilla, chief town of the Tippera District. It is probable that the Khaḍgas originally ruled in Vaṅga (Dacca-Faridpur-Buckergunge area and the adjoining region) and that Devakhaḍga extended his power over Samataṭa. Rulers of this family do not assume paramount titles, although Khaḍgodyama is called *nṛpādhirāja* in the Deulbari inscription of Devakhaḍga's queen and Devakhaḍga calls himself अशेषक्षितिपालमौलिमालामणिद्योतितपादपीठ. We know, however, that the Rātas, who were *prāpta-pañcamahāśabda*, i.e. feudatories, also refer to their *ādhirājya* and *sāmanta-cakra*.[3] Devakhaḍga's seal attached to the Ashrafpur grant does not prove anything, as we have records (cf. the Mallasarul grant) with seals of subordinate rulers. There is,

3 For feudatory *Mahādhirājas*, see *Sel. Ins.*, p. 457, and for *Sāmantas* under a feudatory ruler, see *CII.*, III, p. 288. See also *JKHRS.*, I, p. 220.

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therefore, nothing in the records to show that the Khaḍgas were certainly paramount sovereigns and not semi-independent feudatories like their contemporaries, the Rātas of Samataṭa. On the other hand, the Ashrafpur grant of Rājarāja speaks of a piece of land previously granted by the *Bṛhat-parameśvara* (literally, the great master), which appears to indicate a monarch to whom the Khaḍgas owed their allegiance at least nominally. We have now to determine whether this overlord, probably both of the Khaḍgas and the Rātas, belonged to the house of Gauḍa or of Kāmarūpa.

There is little evidence to show that south-east Bengal ever formed an part of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. Even if any part of Bengal was annexed for a short time to the dominions of Bhāskaravarman, after the king of Kāmarūpa jointly with Harṣa of Kanauj had achieved a victory over the Gauḍa king, the supremacy of Kāmarūpa appears to have ended with the extirpation of Bhāskara. varman's house and the occupation of Kāmarūpa by the Mleccha or Tibeto-Burman barbarian Sālastambha about the middle of the seventh century almost immediately after Bhāskaravarman. On the other hand, there is some evidence in favour of the suggestion that the Gauḍas of the Murshidabad region destroyed imperial Gupta rule from south-western, south-eastern and northern Bengal as well as imperial Gupta and Maukhari rule from south Bihar. The spread of the power of Gopacandra (and probably also of Dharmāditya and Samācāradeva, a predecessor and a successor respectively of Gopacandra, all possibly belonging to the royal house of Gauḍa) over extensive areas of southern Bengal including certainly the Faridpur and Burdwan Districts, the transference of allegiance by the feudatory ruler or provincial governor Vijayasena of the Mallasarul (Burdwan District) inscription from the Gupta king Vainyagupta of the Gunaighar (Tippera District) grant to Gopacandra, the discovery of a seal-matrix of Śaśāṅka (who seems to have been then a provincial governor under the Gauḍa king preceding himself on the throne of Karṇasuvarṇa) cut in the rock at the fort of Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad District (Bihar), and the statement of the *Āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* that Śaśāṅka was defeated by Harṣa at the battle of Puṇḍravardhana (modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District) have all to be taken into consideration in this connection. It is true that sometime before 643 A. D. Harṣa, apparently supported by his subordinate

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ally Bhāskaravarman, humbled the power and prestige of Gauḍa, and the king of Kanauj, led about 643 A.D. an expedition to Koṅgoda (in the Ganjam District) by way of Kajaṅgala (Rajmahal) and Orissa, evidently through the heart of the Gauḍa country in south-west Bengal without opposition, while the king of Kāmarūpa is known to have issued a charter from his camp at Karṇasuvarṇa (capital of Gauḍa near modern Murshidabad) and to have passed, shortly after Harṣa's Koṅgoda expedition, through Bengal unopposed to meet Harṣa in Rajmahal. It is also true that Bhāskaravarman's political prestige greatly increased after Harṣa's death. He was known to the Chinese as the king of Eastern India and is said to have helped the Chinese general Wang-hiuen-tse against the usurper of Harṣa's throne. There is little doubt that the reigning Gauḍa king, possibly a successor of Śaśāṅka, was defeated and had to submit to the powerful combination of Kanauj and Kāmarūpa. It has, however, to be remembered that Harṣa's empire vanished immediately after his death, while the Kāmarūpa kingdom was occupied by the Mlecchas probably with the demise of Bhāskaravarman (cf. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Intro., pp. 18-20). It is thus possible to think that the temporarily subdued king of Gauḍa had an opportunity to try to recover his fallen fortunes. But he must have faced the insubordination of the feudatories and provincial rulers of outlying regions who had raised their head as a result of the temporary subjugation of the overlord. Some writers tacitly assume the end of Gauḍa history with the occupation of Karṇasuvarṇa by the enemies. But the history of the struggle between the Pallavas of Kāñcī and the Cālukyas of Vātāpipura in the seventh and eighth centuries shows that temporary enemy occupation of the capital and even of extensive territories did not lead to the immediate collapse of either of the two powers. The occupation of Kanauj, capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III (915-27 A.D.), as well as numerous similar incidents from the history of the world may also be recalled in this connection. The revival of Gauḍa after the defeat it sustained from Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman is clearly demonstrated by the fact that within a century after that event the Gauḍas became powerful enough to extirpate Later Gupta rule from Magadha. In the second quarter of the eighth century, the Gauḍa king, who was in possession of Magadha (south Bihar), stood in

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the way of the *Digvijayin* Yaśovarman (c. 730-53 A.D.), king of Kanauj. The above considerations lead us to think that the Rātas of Samataṭa and the Khaḍgas of Vaṅga were originally feudatories of the Gauḍa king, but that they began to rule semi-independently after Gauḍa had been temporarily subdued by the kings of Kanauj and Kāmarūpa in the second quarter of the seventh century. (Cf. *IHQ.*, *XIX*, pp. 276, 280).

About 638-39 A. D., the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang visited Samataṭa. In his description of the country, there is no reference to its king. But while describing the Buddhist teacher Śīlabhadra, the pilgrim's *guru* at Nalanda, he says that the teacher was born in the family of the Brāhmaṇa kings of Samataṭa. The non-mention of the Samataṭa king, in the pilgrim's description of the country, may suggest the feudatory character of the former's position. Whatever be the value of this suggestion, Hiuen-tsang's silence about the Buddhist leanings and patronage to Buddhists on the part of the Samataṭa king shows that the Brāhmaṇa rulers of Samataṭa were not Buddhists. On the other hand, king Devakhaḍga, who ruled in the Tippera region, was certainly a Buddhist. As the Khaḍgas appear to have been all Buddhists, it is very probable that Śīlabhadra was a scion of the royal family of the Rātas who may have been Brāhmaṇas.[4] From the name of Śīlabhadra ending with the word *bhadra*, some writers believe in the existence of a Bhadra dynasty ruling over Samataṭa in the seventh century. But there is absolutely no doubt that the typical Buddhist name *Śīlabhadra* (literally, one who is good in regard to the ten *śīlas* or Buddhist precepts of morality) was adopted by the Brāhmaṇa only after he had renounced his original Brahmanical faith and had been initiated into Buddhism.

Another Chinese pilgrim, who visited India about the last quarter of the seventh century, was I-tsing. From I-tsing's accounts, it is learnt that fifty-six Chinese Buddhist pilgrims came to India in the second half of the same century and that one of them, named Sheng-chi, found the throne of Samataṭa occupied by the king

4 Śīlabhadra, whose birth seems to have been about half a century earlier than Jivadhāraṇa's, probably belonged to the generation of the latter's grandfather.

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Rājabhaṭa.[5] Scholars are usually inclined to identify the Samataṭa king Rājabhaṭa, who ruled sometime in the second half of the seventh century, with king Rājarāja or Rājarājabhaṭṭa, son of Devakhaḍga of the Khaḍga dynasty. The suggestion is supported by the fact that, according to I-tsing's accounts, king Rājabhaṭa of Samataṭa was a Buddhist and a great patron of the Buddhists. More than 4,000 Buddhist monks are said to have been living at the capital of Samataṭa and enjoying royal patronage during his rule, although, only a few decades before Sheng-chi and I-tsing, Hiuen-tsang found only 2,000 Buddhist monks in Samataṭa. The great increase in the number of Buddhist monks in that country in the latter half of the seventh century should probably be explained by the conquest of Samataṭa by the Khaḍgas who were Buddhists.

It would appear from the foregoing discussions that the Rāta kings Jīvadhāraṇa and his son Śrīdhāraṇa and the Khaḍga kings Devakhaḍga and his son Rājarāja or Rājarājabhaṭṭa all flourished about the second half of the seventh century. It would also appear that originally the Rātas ruled in Samataṭa and the Khaḍgas in Vaṅga and that, shortly before the visit of Sheng-chi (sometime in the second half of the seventh century) to Samataṭa, Devakhaḍga had ousted Rāta rule and conquered the Samataṭa country.[6]

5 I-tsing who visited India between 671 and 694 A.D. wrote his book in the period *c.* 700-12 A.D. Seng-chi visited Samataṭa sometime between 650 and 700, the exact date being unknown (Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, pp. xxv-vi). Chavannes places I-tsing's stay in India in 673-85 and the composition of his memoirs a few years later.

6 The tentative chronological scheme of the Khaḍgas and Rātas may be tabulated as follows: Khaḍgodyama *c.* 615-35, Jātakhaḍga *c.* 635-55; Devakhaḍga *c.* 655-75; Rājarāja or Rājarājabhaṭṭa *c.* 675-700; Jīvadhāraṇa *c.* 635-60; Śrīdhāraṇa *c.* 660-70. According to I-tsing, an early king named Śrīgupta built a Buddhist monastery known as the Cīnavihāra for the Chinese Buddhists in the vicinity of the Mṛgaśikhāvana-stūpa (located in Varendra or North Bengal on the authority of an eleventh century work), 40 *yojanas* (about 228 miles) to the east of Nalanda by way of the Ganges. Modern writers locate the Cīnavihāra somewhere about the Malda District of Bengal. When I-tsing visited this country, the locality is said to have formed a part of the dominions of Devavarman, king of Eastern India. This king is usually identified with Devakhaḍga, although there is no proof of the extension of Khaḍga rule over the Malda region. The king's name ending with the word *varman* may suggest his identification with a successor of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, whose dynasty however seems to have ended with his death. In the present state of our knowledge

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It is necessary to discuss the relation of the Rāta king Jīvadhāraṇa with Lokanātha of the Tippera grant. Lokanātha's great-great-grandfather was an *adhimahārāja* whose son was a *mahān sāmanta*. In this case, *adhimahārāja* may or may not be an imperial title, but no other member of this family had any title indicating independent rule. The land over which the predecessors of Lokanātha ruled is unknown, although the Tippera grant shows that its issuer ruled in the Samataṭa region. Lokanātha who was probably a Śaiva, is said to have been a Karaṇa who was born in a family of Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. The Tippera grant says that the Parameśvara (i.e. master or overlord probably of Lokanātha, Jīvadhāraṇa and Jayatuṅgavarṣa) lost heavily in men in his struggle with Jayatuṅgavarṣa, that Lokanātha achieved conspicuous success against that enemy, and that, for this reason, the king named Jīvadhāraṇa gave up fighting (against Lokanātha who appears to have been sent against Jīvadhāraṇa by the Parameśvara) and, being humble, offered a *viṣaya* or territory together with *sādhana* or wealth (or probably, friendship) to the Karaṇa who was in possession of the *śrīpaṭṭa* or royal charter (i.e. to Lokanātha who had been granted the position of governor of Samataṭa by the Parameśvara). If the above interpretation of verses 7-9 of the Tippera grant is accepted, it would appear that Jayatuṅgavarṣa and Jīvadhāraṇa were two refractory feudatories of the Parameśvara (the imperial ruler probably of Gauḍa) of whom Lokanātha was a faithful subordinate, that Jayatuṅgavarṣa was subdued by Lokanātha on behalf of his master who next sent him against Jīvadhāraṇa, and that, although Jīvadhāraṇa could not be completely subjugated, he had to pacify Lokanātha (and probably also the Parameśvara) by the cession of a territory and by the payment of a

it is possibly better to identify king Devavarman holding sway over the Malda-Murshidabad region in the second half of the seventh century with a successor of Śaśāṅka and a predecessor of the Gauḍa contemporary of king Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Mr. Jagannāth's identification of Mṛgaśikhāvana with Mṛgadāva or Sarnāth near Benares is rendered doubtful by the fact that Devavarman king of Eastern India has no place in the genealogy of the Later Guptas who, according to the Deobaranark inscription, were in possession of the Gumti valley in the eastern U.P. The identification of Devavarman with Devagupta, son of Ādityasena of the Later Gupta dynasty, is not quite satisfactory. Devavarman was apparently the predecessor of Mo-lo-pa-mo (Mallavarman) who was ruling Eastern India in 692 A.D. according to Chinese sources. See Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, p. 116.

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sum of money (or by an offer of his acceptance of a subsidiary alliance with the Parameśvara). It seems that the name of Lokanātha's Parameśvara was actually mentioned in the Tippera grant in the obliterated portion immediately preceding the passage containing the date (cf. lines 27-29). Lokanātha's name may have been inserted in the legend on the seal of the Tippera grant to indicate reassertion of imperial authority over a territory that had been usurped by the recalcitrant feudatory, Jīvadhāraṇa of Samataṭa.[7]

7 It will be seen that, in explaining the verses in question, we have differed from Dr. Basak, who edited the inscription, and have taken the word *yasmin* with the word °*samare* (and not with *lokanāthe* understood), the word *saḥ* (in *sa viṣayaṃ*, corrected by Basak to *sva-viṣayaṃ*) with the word *jīvadhāraṇa-nṛpaḥ*, and the word *sādhanena* ("along with his army" according to Basak) in the sense of "together with a sum of money (or, an offer of friendship)." Accepting the emendations suggested by Dr. Basak with the exception of *sva-viṣayam* (although it makes little difference) and suggesting a reading for the lacuna left out by him, the verses would stand:

दौहित्रः स तु केशवस्य गुणवान् सत्यैकबन्धुः सदा
दोर्दण्डज्वलितोत्तमासिसचिवप्रज्ञाजयत्साधनः ।
निर्व्याजोर्जितसत्त्वसारतुरगः श्रीलोकनाथो नृपो
"यस्मिन् श्रीपरमेश्वरस्य बहुशो यातं क्षयं सैनिकम् ॥
दुर्लङ्घ्ये जयतुङ्गवर्षसमरे सद्यःप्रयोगोऽर्थिनां
नीतौ नीतिविधानतोऽतिचतुरो नित्यप्रहृष्टप्रजः ।
मैत्र्यापादितनिर्व्रृतिर्बहुगुणो विद्वत्प्रियः सर्वदा
सार्वः साधुसमाश्रयः पदुमतिर्लब्धप्रतापोदयः ॥"
इत्याप्तमन्त्रसुविनिश्चितकृत्यवस्तुः
श्रीजीवधारणनृपस्तनुतामुपेत्य ।
यस्मै ददौ स विषयं सह साधनेन
श्रीपट्टप्राप्तकरणाय विहाय युद्धम् ॥
तत्सुत°, etc.

The *anvaya* would be: केशवस्य दौहित्रः तु गुणवान्, सदा सत्यैकबन्धुः, दोर्दण्डज्वलितोत्तमासिसचिवप्रज्ञाजयत्साधनः, निर्व्याजोर्जितसत्त्वसारतुरगः सः नृपः श्रीलोकनाथः । "यस्मिन् दुर्लङ्घ्ये जयतुङ्गवर्षसमरे श्रीपरमेश्वरस्य बहुशः सैनिकं क्षयं यातं [तस्मिन् असौ] सद्यःप्रयोगः, [अपिच असौ] नीतौ अर्थिनां नीतिविधानतः अति-चतुरः, नित्यप्रहृष्टप्रजः. मैत्र्यापादितनिर्व्रृतिः, बहुगुणः, सर्वदा विद्वत्प्रियः, सार्वः, साधु-समाश्रयः, पदुमतिः, लब्धप्रतापोदयः [च ; अतएव असो दुर्निवारः]" इति [विचिन्त्य] आप्तमन्त्रसुविनिश्चितकृत्यवस्तुः [सन्] सः जीवधारणनृपः युद्धं विहाय तनुतामुपेत्य [च] यस्मै श्रीपट्टप्राप्तकरणाय [लोकनाथाय] साधनेन (=अर्थेन मैत्र्येण वा)सह विषयं (=देशं) ददौ, तत्सुत°, etc.

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Śrīdhāraṇa was born of Bandhudevī who was the *agramahiṣī* or chief queen of king Jīvadhāraṇa. He is called a *Paramavaiṣṇava* and a devout worshipper of the god Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu). It may be recalled in this connection that the Vaiṣṇava kings of the Gupta age usually styled themselves *paramabhāgavata* and were probably adherents of the Bhāgavata form of Vaiṣṇavism which we are inclined to take to signify the particular form of the worship of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu originally prevalent among the Sātvata or Vṛṣṇi people of the Mathurā region (*Bhār. Vid.*, VIII, pp. 109-11). King Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta is also called *paramakāruṇika* and is stated to have disliked the destruction of living beings which is not approved by the *śāstras* and granted life to thousands and thousands of creatures. This probably suggests that the Vaiṣṇava king was averse to the slaughter of animals in connection with the worship of deities. Śrīdhāraṇa was a poet (*kavi*) and an author of excellent songs conspicuous by their sweetness (*atimadhura-citra-gīter = utpādayitā*). Unfortunately none of his writings has come down to us. He was also very learned in *śabdavidyā* (grammar and lexigraphy) and in the other sciences and arts. An interesting epithet of Śrīdhāraṇa says that the handsomeness of his figure lay in its muscularity which was the result of exercise due to constant association with horses and elephants (*gaja-turaga-satata-pīḍana-kram-ocita-śrama - valita-tanu-vibhāga-ramya-darśana*). Above all, king Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta is said to have been a very father to his subjects (*pit = eva pālayitā*).

The Yuvarāja is styled Prāpta-pañca-mahāśabda-śrī-Baladhāraṇa-rāta-bhaṭṭāraka. His relation with Śrīdhāraṇa is not specified in the record, although his epithet *pitṛ-caraṇa-śuśrūṣaṇ-aika-śīla* may suggest that he was a son of the reigning king. Baladhāraṇa's epithet *apayāpita-pitāmah-ākram-ocita-pravayas*, or *apayāpita-pitṛ-pitāmaha°*, may suggest that he was middle-aged at the time when the Kailan charter was issued. He is said to have been primarily a student of *śabdavidyā* and secondarily of the science of taming and managing elephants and horses as well as that of arms. The love of the Rātas for grammar and lexicography seems to have been due to their love of literature. They were apparently not only patrons of learning but were learned men themselves.

The details of the grant shows that the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* (minister for war and peace) Jayanātha, approached king Śrīdhāraṇa

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for the grant of a piece of land which he was inclined to dedicate to the Bhagavat Tathāgataratna (Buddha) or the Ratnatraya (the Buddhist trinity of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha symbolised in a Buddhist establishment)[8], for the worship of the Buddha, the reading and writing of Buddhist religious texts and the provision of food, clothing and other necessaries for the Ārya-saṅgha (Buddhist monks), as well as to a number of learned Brāhmaṇas for the performance of their Pañcamahāyajña (the five daily sacrifices to be performed by a Brāhmaṇa, viz., *adhyāpana*, *tarpaṇa*, *homa*, *bali* and *atithi-pūjana*). King Śrīdhāraṇa was pleased to accept Jayanātha's petition and granted him 15 *Pāṭakas* of land situated in the *viṣayas* called Guptīnāṭana and Paṭalāyikā lying within the jurisdiction of the Kumārāmātya of Devaparvata. Although it is not stated in the record, it is almost certain that Jayanātha paid the price of the 25 *Pāṭakas* of land to the king's treasury, as, otherwise, the spiritual benefit arising from the meritorious deed of giving land to a religious establishment and to Brāhmaṇas would go to the king. Elsewhere (cf. *Bhārata-kaumudī*, I, p. 943ff.) we have discussed the areas of Droṇavāpa and Kulyavāpa. It is well known that 8 Droṇavāpas made one Kulyavāpa and that 5 Kulyavāpas were equal to one Pāṭaka. As a Kulyavāpa seems to have been equal to about 150 Bengal *bighās*, a Pāṭaka may be roughly regarded as equal to about 750 modern *bighās*. The fact that Jayanātha had reverence for both the Buddhist trinity and the Brāhmaṇas throws some interesting light on the religious condition of Bengal in the seventh century. When the Brahmanical and Buddhist philosophers were busy in refuting one another's views, the life of the ordinary man appears to have been marked by absolute religious toleration, and the Buddhist laymen were gradually nearing absorption into Brahmanical society (cf. *IC.*, IX, p. 124).

Of the 25 Pāṭakas of land granted by Śrīdhāraṇa to Jayanātha, the biggest plot measuring 18 Pāṭakas lay in Tratuvāpāṭaka in the Khaḍobbālikā subdivision of the Guptīnāṭana district. Another 5 Pāṭakas in two plots lay in Raṅkupottaka in the Nidhānīkhāḍobbā subdivision probably situated in the same district. Two Pāṭakas of *bahiḥkṣetra* or outlying land are said to have belonged to the Karalakoṭṭa subdivision of the Paṭalāyikā district. Of these 25 Pāṭakas of land,

8 For *ratnatraya* in the sense of a Buddhist monastery, see *IHQ.*, X, p. 328; cf. also Majumdar, *Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, II, pp. 74-75.

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Rańkupottaka (5 Pāṭakas) was the share of the Ratnatraya (Buddhist monastery) with the exception of ½ Pāṭaka that was retained by the alms-giver (*bhikṣada* = *bhikṣādātā*), i.e. Jayanātha. Khaḍobbālikā (18 Pāṭakas) fell to the lot of the Brāhmaṇas with the exception of 5 Pāṭakas retained by Jayanātha who also kept for himself the 2 Pāṭakas of land lying in Karalakoṭṭa. Thus of the 25 Pāṭakas, as many as 13 went to the Brāhmaṇas and only 4½ to the Buddhist monastery, while the remaining 7½ Pāṭakas were retained, possibly temporarily, by Jayanātha. The 13 Pāṭakas of land granted to the Brāhmaṇas were distributed in the following order among 13 Brāhmaṇas:

1.	Bhaṭṭa Divākara	... ...	5 Padas (1¼ Pāṭakas)
2.	Bhaṭṭa Bhava	... ...	5 Padas (1¼ Pāṭakas)
3.	Bhaṭṭa Vatsa	... ...	5 Padas (1¼ Pāṭakas)
4-5.	Valīvardayaśas and Vṛṣabhayaśas	... ...	5 Padas (1¼ Pāṭakas)
6.	Bhaṭṭa Bhadra	... ...	5 Padas (1¼ Pāṭakas)
7.	Bhaṭṭa Lalita	... ...	5 Padas (1¼ Pāṭakas)
8.	Nārāyaṇa	... ...	5 Padas (1¼ Pāṭakas)
9.	Āloka	... ...	5 Padas (1¼ Pāṭakas)
10.	Valīvardacandra	... ...	3 Padas (¾ Pāṭaka)
11.	Candrasvāmin	... ...	2 Padas (½ Pāṭaka)
12.	Sādhāraṇaghoṣa	... ...	2 Padas (½ Pāṭaka)
13.	Paśupati	... ...	5 Padas (1¼ Pāṭakas)
		Total ...	52 Padas (13 Pāṭakas)

It is interesting to note that the word *bhaṭṭa* (used as a title of learned Brāhmaṇas) is absent in regard to some of the names. For the name-endings *candra* and *ghoṣa*, vide discussion on similar names of Brāhmaṇas in *IHQ.*, XIX, pp. 17-18.

The description of the boundaries of the plots of land granted by the charter contains such important names as that of the village Daśagrāma and the river Āḍvāgaṅgā. Unfortunately, none of the localities and rivers, with the exception of Devaparvata and the Kṣīrodā-nadī, can be satisfactorily identified. There are besides pseudo-Sanskrit words such as *billa*, *naudaṇḍa*, *naupṛthvī*, *nausthiravegā*, *nau-śivabhogā*, *vyajana*, *bhaṅga*, etc. in the above description. Of these, *billa* apparently stands for Bengali *bil* meaning a lake and *naudaṇḍa* seems to be the same as *nāoḍāṛā* used now in central Bengal in the sense

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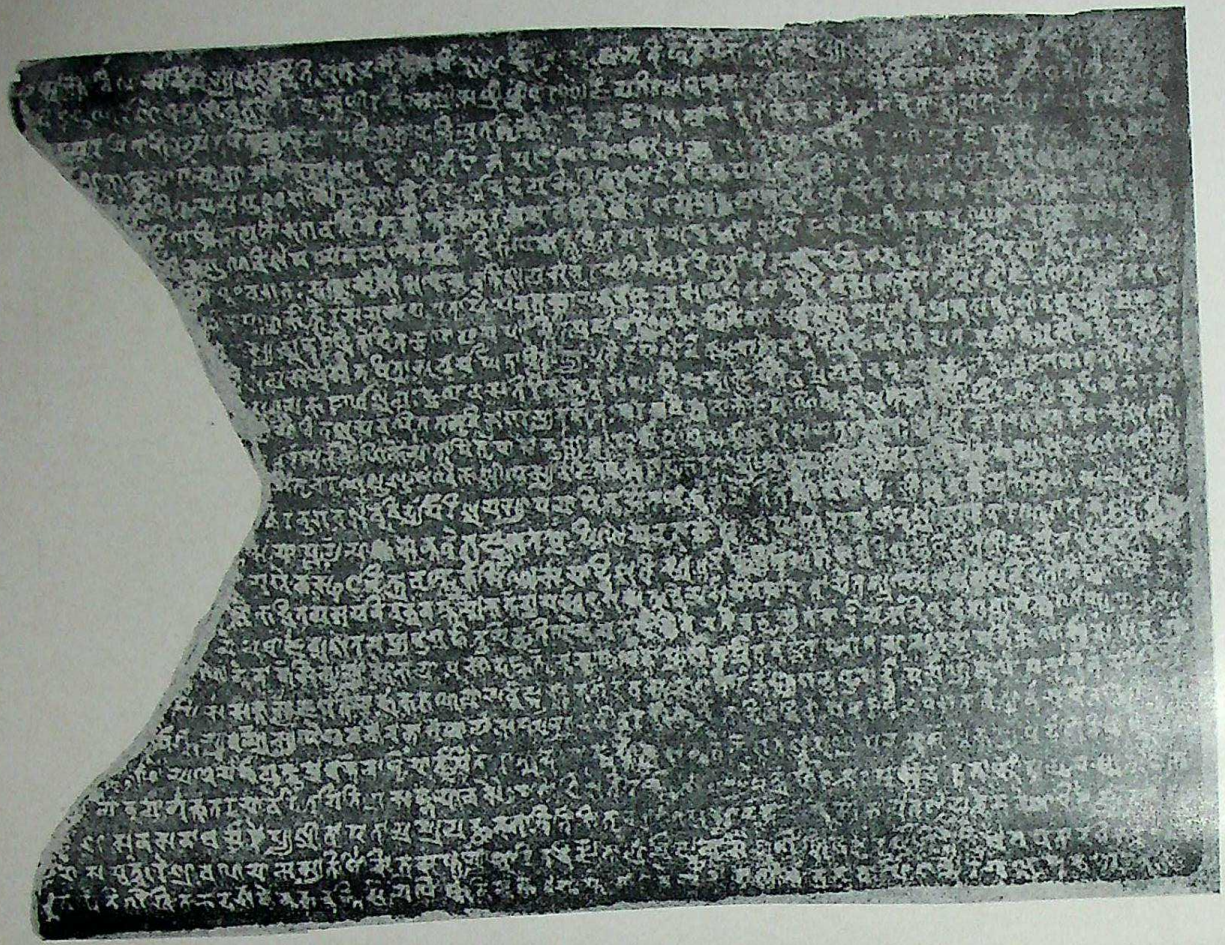
KAILAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION

FIRST SIDE



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of a path for boats made on the moss-covered waters of the *bil*, etc. The other words of this type can hardly be explained satisfactorily, although it is clear that the lands were situated mostly in a marshy region.

TEXT[9]

[Metre :—Verses 1-2 : *Āryā* ; Verse 3 : *Vasantatilakā* ; Verses 4-6 : *Anuṣṭubh*.]

Seal

A

1. श्रीमत्समत[टेश्वर]पादानुध्या[तस्य]
2. कुमारामा[त्याधिक]रण[स्य] (॥*)

B

श्रीश्रीधारणरातस्य (॥*)

First Side

1. सिद्धं[10] स्वस्ति (॥*)
   विलसन्ति यस्य शश्वद्दितिसुतदमनेन विक्रमाद्वाराः (।*)
   स्स(स) जयति हरिरेकार्णवमध्योद्धृतमेदिनोभारः ॥1
   प्रज्ञातिशयविशो-
2. धितगुणराशौ दुग्धसिन्धुवद्धौता (।*)
   यस्य श्रोरपिः(षि) सश्रीः स श्रीश्रीधारणो जयति ॥2
   अथ मत्तमातङ्गशतसुखविगाह्यमानविविधतीर्थया नौभि-
3. रपरिमिताभिरुपरचितकुलया परिकृतादभिमतनिम्नगामिन्या **क्षीरोदया** सर्व्वतो-
   भद्रकाद्दे**वपर्व्वताच्छ्रीमत्समतटेश्वर**पादानु-
4. ध्याताः कुमारामात्या अधिकरणञ्च **गुप्तीनाटनपटलायिक**[यो]र्व्विषयपती[11]
   अधिकरणञ्च बोधयन्ति (।*) विदितम-
5. स्तु वो निरुपमगुणगणौघशालिनि जगा(ग)दुदयस्थितिनिरोधविविधप्रपञ्चधामनि
   विबुधसत्तमे शतमखशतुशातनव्यस-

9 From estampages prepared by me. 10 Expressed by a symbol.

11 Cf. line 34. ये was originally engraved for र्यि. The *akṣara* read here rather doubtfully as यो looks like हि. I am not sure if the reading intended was (व*)हिर्व्विषय

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6. नविलसितायतौ भगवति **पुरुषोत्तमे** परमया विनिवेशिताशयश्रद्धया शब्दविद्या-
दिविविधसमयपरिगमजनितस्वक(ः*)
7. स्वकगुणविशेषघनघटितबुद्धिरविकलशक्तित्रितयसम्पदुद्गतो यथारुचिप्रवर्त्तित-
पाङ्कुण्यगोचरश्चापचक्रविक्रो-
8. डित इव गतः कलासु कौशलमनतिशयसुन्दरमतिमधुरचित्रगीतेरुत्पादयिता
कविरपरिमितगोहिरण्यभूमिप्र-
9. दानपुण्यकीर्त्तेरसमसमप्रतापोपनतसामन्तचक्रस्य सुगृहीतनाम्नो देवस्य **समतटेश्वर-**
श्रीजीवधारणरातभट्टा-
10. रकस्य सूनुरुदितोदितकुलायामपरिमितप्रजाधारिण्यां साक्षादिव वसुन्धराया-
मग्रमहिष्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीबन्धुदेव्यां[12] प्रसादा-
11. तिशयसुमुखेन पित्रा स्वयमर्प्पिताधिराज्यः पितेव पालयिता[प]गतो[13] बुद्धिनिग्रहा-
दनभिमतप्राणनिग्रहे मनुरपर इ-
12. व परमकरुणाश्रयः कुलवसतिरिव सत्वसम्पदो जन्मभूमिरिव प्रियवचनजातस्य
गजतुरगसततपोडन-
13. क्रमोचितश्रमवलिततनुविभागरम्यत(द)र्शनः परमवैष्णवो(ऽ*)नेकप्राणिकोटी-
शतसहस्रजीवितस्य प्रदायकतया
14. परमकारुणिको मातापितृपादानुध्यातः **प्राप्तपञ्चमहाशब्दः समतटेश्वरः**
श्रीश्रीधारणरातदेवः कुशली ।
15. पितृचरणशुश्रूषणैकशीलस्य विजितचक्षुरादिकरणारामतया[14] विनयस्येव मूर्ति-
मतो हस्त्यश्वप्रहरणविद्या-
16. भिरनुगतशब्दविद्यापा(प)रिश्रमस्यापयापितृपितामहाक्रामोचितप्रवयसः[15] श्री(श्रि)
येव नायकगुणसम्पदा स(सु)-
17. समापूर्य्यमाणसन्ततेराज्ञाशतप्रापिणो **युवराजप्राप्तपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीबल-**
धारणरातभट्टारकस्य
18. मुखेन . स्फुटचित्तवल्गुभाषिणा समादिशतिस्म ॥ विज्ञापितम्महासन्धि-
विग्रहाधिकृतश्रीजयनाथेन यत्किञ्चि-

12 The reading **बन्धु०** is not absolutely certain.

13 The reading **जगतो** may not be impossible.

14 The reading may possibly also be **०करणग्रामतया**

15 The intended reading seems to be either **०यापितपितामहाक्रमोचित०**, or **०यापि(तपि*)तृपितामहक्रमोचित०**

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19. ल्लोकद्वितयसुखनिवन्धनङ्कर्म्म कर्त्तव्यमस्मादु(द्द)शैस्तत्तुर्व्वम्प्रसा(दाद्*) देवपादा-
20 यो यथा जन्मशतमप्यनुग्रहीतुमिच्छति लोकमनुजीविनमतो वन्द(विज्ञा)प्यते
पादीयसंविधान(*) सव्यपेक्षणम्पुण्यक्रिया·
21. णान्तेनार्हसि भूम्यास्तोकया प्रसादङ्कर्त्तुन्तामहमवाप्य प्रीतप्रीतवुद्धिरपगतसा(सं)-
सारदोषनिर्मलस्यासंसक्तस्या-
22. पि संसक्तस्य जगति महाकरुणया सर्वज्ञस्य **भगवतस्तथागतरत्नस्य** गन्ध-
धूपदीपमाल्यानुलेपनार्थन्तदुपदिष्ट-
23. मार्ग्गस्य धर्म्मस्य लेखनवाचनार्थमार्यसङ्घस्य च चीवरपिण्डपातादिविविधोपचारार्थ-
मधिगतविद्यानामपि ब्राह्मणार्या-
24 णाम्पञ्चमहायज्ञप्रवर्त्तनार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनः पुत्रपौत्रसन्ततेर्जगतश्च पुण्योपच
यार्थम्वि(र्थं वि)भज्य प्र(द*)दामि (इ*)ति (।*) विज्ञापन-
25. यानया युक्तरमावेदितमिति प्रसन्नमानसैः पञ्चविंशतिरस्माभिरस्य क्षेत्त(त्र)-
पाटकाः प्रसादीकृतास्ते यूयमस्मत्कटक-
26. शासनसनाथमारोप्य श्रीतापत्राम्प्रयच्छत तानिति (।*) **पितृचरणप्रसादाद-**
वाप्तस्य समतटाद्यनेकदेशाधिराज्यस्याष्ट-
27. **मे सम्ब(संव)त्सरे श्रावणमासस्य तिथौ सितसप्तम्यां** श्रावितनिर्जाताया-
माज्ञायां सीमलिङ्गानि दातुं लिखिते विषयपतावधिकरणे च
28. तत्प्रतिलिखितकदर्शनेन भवन्ति सीमलिङ्गानि यत्त ॥ **गुप्तीनाटने खडोव्वालिका-**
[**त्रतुवापाटको** रखल्लाष्टदण्डाना]-

Second Side

29. म्प्रापिणामष्टादशानाम्पाटकानां सीमलिङ्गानि यत्तू पूर्व्वेण **दशग्रामे** नायविड्डिक-
विल्लभङ्गेन[16] नौपू-
30. थ्वी श्रीक्षेत्तं निष्कान्तकप्रविष्टकभङ्गेन नौपृथ्वी श्रीडङ्केल्लनौस्थिरवेगा क्षेत्त्राणि
दक्षिणेन नौस्थिरवेगा प-
31. श्चिमेन **म्वि(द्वि)ष्खलिका नदी** उत्तरेणापि **द्विष्खलिका नदी** नायवड्डिक-
विल्लश्च[17]॥ **निधानीखाडोव्वारङ्कुपोत्तके**[18] वप्प-

16 Cf. ०वड्डिक० in line 31.
17 Cf. ०विड्डिक० in line 29.
18 Cf. *IHQ*. XIX, pp. 17n, 20 &n.

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32. यशःप्रापिणां पञ्चानाम्पाटकानां **प्रथमखण्डे** पूर्व्वेण तोरदेशीयताम्रं दक्षिणेन नौशिवभोगा पश्चिमेन

33. खताम्रं(म्रम्) उत्तरेणार्द्धत्रिकशतकुलपुत्रकानां क्षेत्रं **द्वितीये** पूर्व्वेण खताम्रं दक्षिणेन दण्डजयसेनक्षेत्त्रं[19] प-

34. श्चिमे**नाड्डागङ्गा** उत्तरेणार्द्धत्रिकशतकुलपुत्रकानां क्षेत्त्रं ॥ **पटलायिकाकरल-कोटे**(ऽ*)पि[20] वहिःक्षेत्त्रपाठक-

35. द्वयस्य पू(र्वे*)ण देवीम[ठताम्र म्प्रविष्टेनयुक्त?][21] वेलोच्चमपश्चिमालो सव्यजनेन मित्तवलविहारताम्र-

36. मादित्यमण्डपो नौदण्डकश्च दक्षिणेन कश्चीरकपुष्करिणी नौदण्डकश्च पश्चिमेन नौदण्डकः

37. प्रविश्य ईषद्व्यजनेन गणिडदेवमेटोच्चमपूर्व्वालीनिष्कान्तकव्यजनेन वेन्धनादी-(नां*) मल्लकर्म्म-

38. काराणां क्षेत्त्रं सव्यजनेन निष्क्रम्य महाकायस्थभास्करचन्द्रताम्रमुत्तरेण करल-विहारनौ[दण्डकः क्षे ?]-[22]

39. त्रभ[ङ्गे]न च सव्यज(ने*)न श्रीतापसधनदेवक्षेत्त्रध्वे ति (।*) एवमवधृतसीमानः पञ्चविंशतिपाटका इति पूरि-

40. ते महति भान(गे) विभज्य प्रतिपादिता इति गोर[वात्] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति स्व[दानफ]-

41. लापेक्षयाप्यपरिलिखितैरिमे
दानानुमोदनविधैः [परि]पालनीया
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — [विभावाः] (।*)[23]
श्लो-

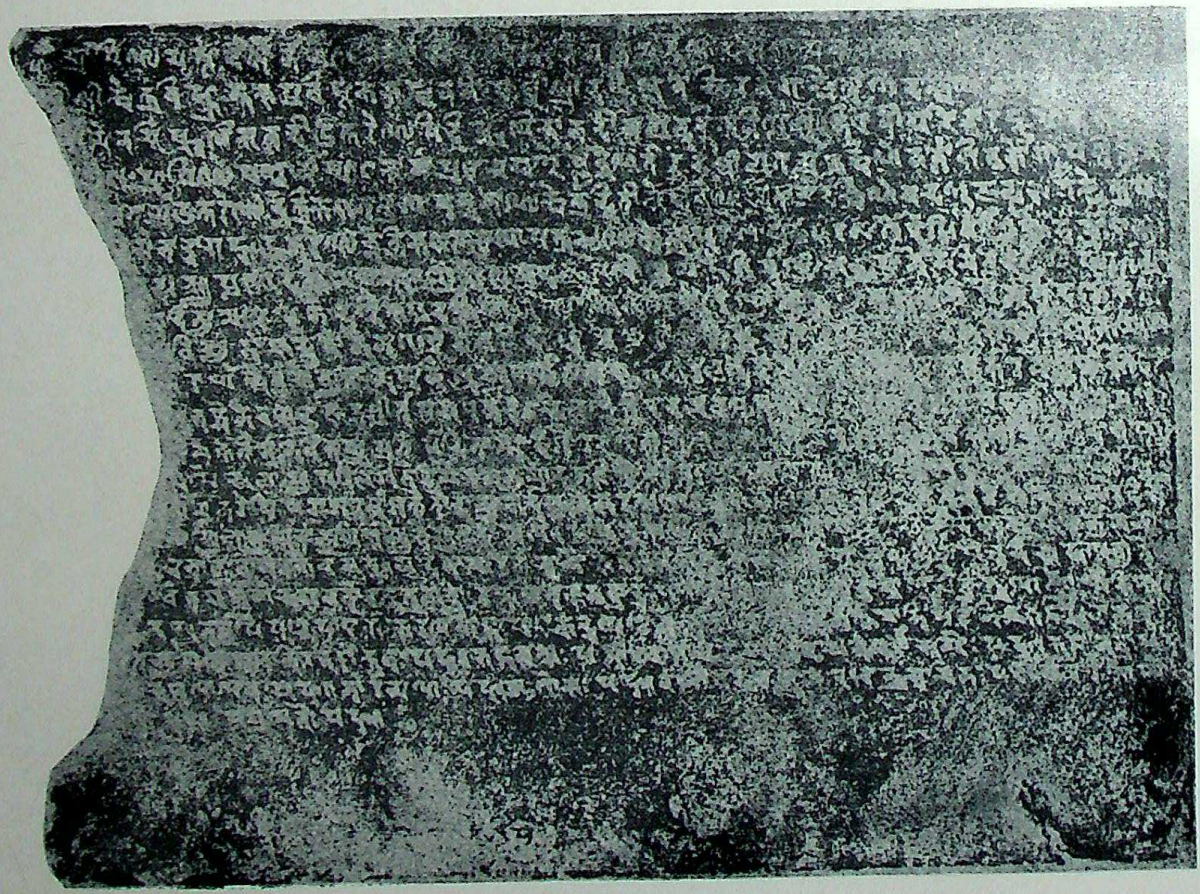
42. का मुनेरपि पराशरवंशकेतो-
र्ब्भाव्या(ः*) सदा भुवनरक्षण [वन्धकर्त्तेति] [24] (॥*) **3**
बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगार(गरा)दिभि(ः*) (।*)

43. र्य(य)स्य यस्य यदाभूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥**4**

19 दण्ड may be an abbreviation of a designation like दण्डनायक
20 Cf. करलकोट्ट in line 46.
21 These letters are indistinct. *VSPP.*, l.c., has
22 The letters are indistinct. *VSPP.*, l.c., has
23 The letters of the second foot of the stanza are not distinct.
24 The letters are not quite distinct. Better read बन्धकर्त्ता ॥ इति ॥

KAILAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION

SECOND SIDE



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षष्टिम्व(ष्टिव)र्ष सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद(:*) (।*)

44. आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता

च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ **5**

स्वदत्ताम्पर(द*)त्ताम्वा(त्तांवा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) ।

स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सहपच्यते ॥ **6**

45. विभागश्चायं **भगवतो रत्नत्रयस्य रङ्कपोत्तक**स्तत्तूर्द्धपाटको भित्तदस्य(।* **खडोब्बालिका** ब्राह्मणार्याणां भित्त-

46. दस्य तत्तापि पञ्चपाटकाः **करलकोट्ट**पाटकद्वयञ्च[25] (।*) भोक्तृणाम्ब्राह्मणानान्नामानि पदानि च भट्टदिवाकर(:*) ।

47. तस्य पञ्चपदानि ॥ भट्टभवः प[26] ५ ॥ भट्टवत्सः प ५ ॥ वलीवर्द्दयशाः वृषभयशास्तयोः प ५ ॥ भट्टभद्रः प ५ (॥*)

48. भट्टललितः प ५ ॥ नारायणः प ५ ॥ आलोकः प ५ ॥ वलीवर्द्दचन्द्रः प ३ । चन्द्रस्वामिनः प २ ॥ साधारणघो-

49. षः प २ ॥ पशुपतेः प ५ ॥[27]

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

25 Cf. line 34.

26 प = पदानि (i.e. quarters). The word तस्य is understood in most of these cases.

27 The second part of this paper containing translation of the epigraphic text and explanatory notes is reserved for a future issue of this journal.

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MISCELLANY

The Scribe-Engravers of Indrapāla's second Copper-Plate and Prakrit of Pre-Ahom Times

Indrapāla's second land-grant was made thirteen years after the first. The copper-plate inscription, known as the Guyakuchi Inscription, was caused to be engraved in the 21st year of Indrapāla's reign. The engraving is completed in three separate plates joined together one below the other. The continuation of the work of engraving is evident from the continuity of the text of the land-grant from plate to plate. Comparing the letter-forms of the first plate with those of the second and third plates, one cannot but feel inclined to think that their scribe-engravers were more than one person. In the opinion of Padmanath Bhattacharyya, the work on the first plate was done by one man and that on the remaining two plates by another man.[1] The inscription ends in three letters (*tta mā ṅka*) engraved in line 72 and the scribe-engravers devised to fill the remaining space with a few symbols, five in number the first in the space between two ornamental stop-signs, one in the next space, two in the third, and one in the fourth on the extreme right, all expressive of the distinctive characteristics of the Hindu god Viṣṇu, namely, the mace, the Garuḍa, the vehicle, the lotus, the conch-shell, and the wheel.[2] Confronting the Garuḍa in the second space, are inscribed two letters *śa-ni*, and below them in a vertical table two letters *ḍha-ni* and two others *a-ni*. Just below the three symbols of the lotus, the conch-shell and the wheel figuring in a row there is the continuation of the subscript matter in a row of eight letters to be read *puṣṭa-siri-aṣṭa henta*. The plan is so designed as to make the whole additional subscript matter appear between the two stop-signs in the form of a right angle (see plate).

Pandit Padmanath suggests with the guidance taken from Dharmapāla's second copper-plate that apparently here we have three personal names, the first, Śani, being the name of the composer of the metrical text of the inscription, and the remaining two, Ḍhani and Ani, those

1 *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvali*, p. 145.

2 It is evident from the emblems that the scribe-engravers were votaries of Viṣṇu as Govinda, while king Indrapāla himself was a worshipper of Śiva.

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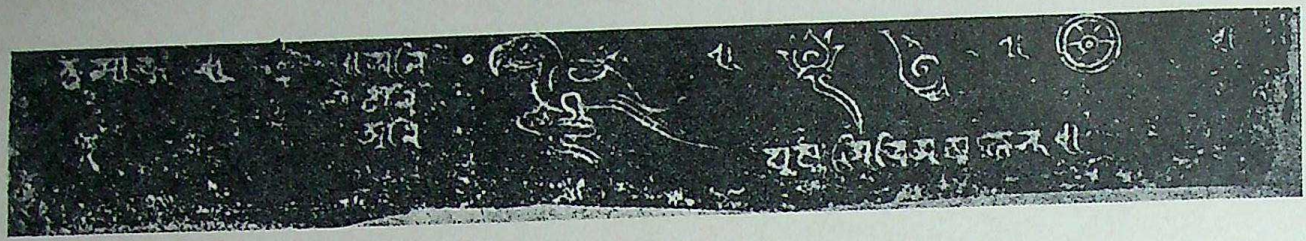
SEGMENT FROM SECOND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF INDRAPALA



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of the scribe engravers. He inclines also to suggest that probably the three names are just abbreviations of Śanirāma, Ḍhanirāma (Dhanirāma) and Aniruddha. He is not sure of his position in view of the fact that his suggestion leaves the remaining words unexplained. As for *puṣṭa*[3]*-siri-aṣṭa henta,* he goes to suggest that here probably the intention of the scribe-engraver is to record the statement like *puṣṭam Śrī-Aṣṭakena* in Sanskrit, meaning "Pictures drawn by *Aṣṭaka,*" evidently in utter disregard of its connection with Śani, Ḍhani and Ani. Accordingly if Ḍhani and Ani were the scribe-engravers, as he suggests, Srijut Aṣṭaka was the artist who had designed the emblems of Viṣṇu. It seems that Pandit Padmanath has sadly missed the purpose of the matter in the appendage to the copper-plate grant.

It is not at all difficult to make out the purpose of the inscribed matter which is to state that Indrapāla's inscription was engraved on the three plates by three different scribe-engravers whose names respectively were Śanipuṣṭa ("Nourished by Śani, the Saturn"), Ḍhani-siri ("Rich by the grace of the goddess of Luck") and Ani aṣṭa (=Aṇimādi-aṣṭa, "Endowed with the eight attributes of God's perfection, Infinitesimal nature, etc.").[4] Here *siri* for *śrī* is a clear instance of Prakritism.[5] In Pali, too, we have invariably *siri* for *śrī*. The *henta* after *aṣṭa* is a suffix or surname peculiar to Assamese.[6]

The Pre-Ahom inscriptions of Kāmarūpa contain a few other instances of Prakritism that may be taken to indicate the nature and form of the dialect as current in those times, say from the 6th to the 12th

3 Padmanath Bhattacharyya reads *puṣṭā*,, although the *ā*-sign is very faint and doubtful.

4 The joining of the three words preceding respectively with the three words following is sanctioned by the rule of syntax: *uddiṣṭānāṃ padārthānām anudeśo yathākramaṃ* (*Kāvyādarśa*, Ch. II): The words introduced at first and those in the sequel are to be connected respectively in the order of sequence. Cf. *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, Ch. XII, *jṭôtkhāta-bhaṭa-drumā* to be interconnected as *jtāḥ bhaṭāḥ, utkhātāḥ drumāḥ*. Pāṇini prescribes *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśa-samānām*.

5 Here the word *siri*, as Prof. S. K. Chatterji, inclines to think, is of Bodo origin and it means 'a river.' Cf. such river names in Assam as *Se-siri, Dhān-siri*, and *Suban-siri* all tributaries to the Brahmaputra.

6 In Assamese we have two suffixes, *hante* and *hāṅt* first an instr. or ablative suffix, Bengali *hate, haite*, meaning "from," and the second a nominative plural suffix, the same as *vōr*. Here *henta* may have been an earlier form of the Assamese suffix *hante*. If the intended word is *hanta* (=*hāṅt*), it is a plural suffix used in a sense of humility.

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century A.D., I mean the Prakrit language in the historical background of Assamese. The archaic forms crept in these records and held their rightful place through the inadvertance on the part of the local composers, or that of the local scribe engraver, or that of both, in spite of the conscious attempt made for producing the legal documents,—the land-grants, in authentic Sanskrit. Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharyya to whom the Indologists owe so much for his critical and annotated edition of the copper-plate inscriptions has done some amount of disservice by going to offer us a vulgate edition of the texts in Sanskrit. Fortunately, however, he did not omit to mention in foot-notes the readings as to be found in the plates themselves. The readings that appeared to him as incorrect or archaic and were scrupulously amended are to us highly important as evidences bearing on the subject of this paper.

According to Hwen Thsang, the spoken dialect of Kāmarūpa of his time slightly differed from that of Madhyadeśa.

The causative substantatives *śāsaitā* ("the composer of the land-grant"), *lekhayitā* ("the scribe") and *prāpayita* ("the recipient") all occurring in BhN,* are unusual in Sanskrit, although their coinage may be grammatically justified. *Puṣkiriṇī* for *puṣkarinī* (BhN. B, I Dh_2) must have been a local spelling, and not an accidental feature. *Balavanto* in H for *balavān*, Pali *balavā*, is a form which is very common in Assamese, cf. Pali *mahanto*, Bengali *Śrīmanta*, Assamese and Chittagong dialect *śrīmanta*, *guṇavanta*, *buddhimanta*, *lakkhimanta*.[7] *Ḍumbari* for Sk. *udumbara*, Bengali *ḍumur* (a fig tree), too, is a local word. *Pārali*, *pāṛula* (a kind of tree), too, is a local form. *Koppā* (B), *Diddesā* and *seva* as names of two *vāpis* (B). Paṇḍarī as the name of another plot (I_2). *jola* (I_2) meaning a small canal, same as *jor* in Chittagong dialect,

*Abbreviations:

BhN	=	The Nidhanpur Copper-plate of Bhāskaravarman.
H	=	The Copper-plate of Harjaravarman.
B	=	.. ,, ,, Balavarman.
R	=	.. ,, ,, Ratnapāla.
I_1	=	The first copper-plate of Indrapāla.
I_2	=	.. second ,, ,, Indrapāla.
Dh_1	=	.. first ,, ,, Dharmapāla.
Dh_2	=	.. second ,, ,, Dharmapāla.
Dh Kho	=	The Khonamukh Copper-plate of Dharmapāla.

7 Cf. Pali *Theragātha*, verse 1050:

gaṇimanto satimanto dhitimanto ca yo isi.

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Jhari Pākaṭī as the name of a tree (Dh. 1) *Bhallābhiṭhi* as the name of a plot of land (Dh. 1), *Dijjinnā* as the name of a stream (Dh. 1), *Ākhoṭa* as the name of a tree (Dh. 1), *Oḍi-amma* as a kind of mango (Dh. 1), *Olindā* and *Kañjoyabhiṭiva* as two plots of land (Dh. 1), *Orangitantra* as a class or section of weavers (Dh. 1), *Kaṇṭāvakkaḍa* as the name of a tree (Dh. 1), *Digḍola* as the name of an old village (Dh$_2$), *Sovvaḍī* as the name of a tank (Dh. 2), *Hāruppeśvara* as a place-name (B), and the like are all local names.[8] *Sekyakāra* (BhN) Bengali *sekrā* ("a smith") seems to have been just a Sanskritised form of a local word. Same as to *taṭṭhakāra* (Dh$_2$) in which the first member of the compound, *taṭṭha*, seems to correspond with Sk. *Tvaṣṭṛi*.[10] It is not probably a mistake for Sk. *Takṣakāra* as Pandit Padmanath supposed. In correcting the expression *samprāpte Bhagadatte Śrīmat-Prāgjyotiṣādhināṭṭhatvam* (B) to *samprāpto Bhagadattaḥ Śrīmat-Prāgjyotiṣādhinathatvam*, Pandit Padmanath failed to understand that it had behind it such an oft-recurring Pali Jataka idiom as *Brahmadatte rajjaṃ kārente*, which is a locative absolute.

Turning at last to the words corrected by Pandit Padmanath, and subsequently also by P. D. Chaudhury,[11] we can easily make out the following distinctive features of Prakritism of the age:

Shortening of long vowels: *Vajasaneyī* (BhN) for Vājasaneyī *Savitra* (BhN) for Sāvitra, *Caturbhaga* (BhN) for caturbhāgaḥ, *paṭṭabhavat* (BhN) for paṭṭābhavat, *Taittiriya* (BhN) for Taittirīya, *Gayatri-*

8 For a philological study of place names and personal names in Bengal inscriptions, cf. S. K. Chatterji's *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, pp, 188 ff.

9 According to Prof. S. K. Chatterji, *Sekya-kāra* for **sekka-kāra-*, whence Bengali *sekrā* (through a spoken Prakrit *sekka-āra*) = goldsmith, silversmith. *sekka* is a borrowed word from Iran, meaning 'die,' 'stamp for coining,' and then 'engraving on metal': it is the same word as the Arabic *sikkah* (*sikkathun*, to give the full form in Classical Arabic). Arabic *sikkah* (*sikkathun*) and middle Persian **sekka, sikka*, which we found borrowed in India by 630 A.D., are both derived from the Aramaic *sykt'* = 'die.'

10 Prof. S. K. Chatterji suggests that here *taṭṭhakāra* 'maker of *taṭṭhas*': *taṭṭha*, or *tattha*, is a Persian borrowing, from Middle Persian (and Modern Persian) *tasht* = 'plate,' 'metal salve.' This became Indianised as *taṭṭha, ṭaṭṭha*, whence modern Bengali *ṭāṭ* = 'copper-plate.' *taṭṭhakāra* gives Modern Indo-Aryan *ṭhaṭherā, thāṭāri* of *ṭhāṭārī-bāzar* pure 'copper-plate' in *ṭhaṭhera-bazar* in Benares town, where the metal-workers congregate.

11 The Khonamukh Copper-plate grant of Dharmapāla in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, vol. VIII—New series, No. 4, pp. 117 ff.

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pāla (BhN) for Gāyatrīpāla, *Dhṛtisvāmi* (BhN) for *Dhṛtisvāmī*, *mayura* (BhN) for mayūra, *sunu* (BhN) for sūnu, *Kośiko* (BhN) for Kauśikaḥ, *Dhoteśvara* (BhN) for Dhauteśvara.

Shortening of long vowels before conjoint consonants and anusvāra: *Chandogya* (BhN) for Chāndogya, *Śanīścara* (BhN) for Śanaiścara, *Bhaggavo* (BhN) for Bhārgavaḥ, *Jahveśvara* (BhN) for Jahvīśvara, *bhutvā* (BhN) for bhūtvā, *murtte* (BhN) for mūrtte, *iśvara* (BhN) for īśvara, *arddhaṃśa* (BhN) for arddhāṃśa.

Substitution of one vowel for another: *kalpatā, vahatā, racata* (BhN) for kalpitā, vihita, racita, *Vajasunayī* (BhN) for *Vājasaneyī*, *Taittariya* (BhN) for Taittirīya, *jagaduduya* (BhN) for jagadudaya, cf. *udupāna* (Asoka's R.E.I.) for udapāna, *daive* (BhN) for deve.

Ṛi represented by *a*: *vaha* (BhN) for vṛiha.

Absence of Sandhi: *Hari-adbhūta* (BhN) for Haryadbhūta, *tebhyo akṣarāṇi* (BhN) tebhyo 'kṣarāṇi, cf. *vasa-abhisitena* (Asoka's P.E.), *guṇa-upetena* (Khāravela's Hathigumpha Inscription).

Yi represented by *i*: *śāsaitā* (BhN) for *śāsayitā*, *dolāitam* (B) for dolāyitam.

Dispensing with *y* in consonantal combinations: *mātsanyāya* (BhN) for *mātsyanyāya*, *Lakṣmā* (I_2) for Lakṣmyā, *Kāśapo* (BhN) for Kāśyapaḥ. Dropping of *t* or *ṭ* in a consonantal sandhi in which it is followed by another consonant: *ujvalam* (BhN) for ujjvalam, *sampatyupāta* (BhN) for sampattyupāta, *satva* (BhN) for sattva, *bhavatasya* (BhN) for bhavattasya, *kuṭimam* (I_2) for kuṭṭimam.

Doubling of *t* in *sthitti* (BhN) for sthiti.

Euphonic advent of consonants in the middle of words: *Kamalavāsīni iva, divākara-m-iva* (H) cf. Pali *kasā-m-iva*, *Lakṣmī-s-samā* (BhN) for Lakṣmīsamā, *ām-v-ra* (B) for āmra.

Dropping of the initial vowel of the second word in a Sandhi: *payanti va* (H) for payantyevam.

ṃ followed by *sa* or *ha* changes into *ṅ*: *puṅsām, yaśāṅsi* (BhN) for puṃsām, yaśāṃsi, *siṅhāsana* (H) for siṃhāsana, *aṅsa* (BhN) for aṃsa, *mīmāṅsā* (Dh Kho) for mīmāṃsā.

ṃ followed by sa changes into *n*: *vansa* (I_2) for *vaṃśa*, *mīmānsā* (Dh_2) for mīmāṃsā, a phenomenon noticed in later inscriptions only.

Change of *ṃ* into *n* at the end of a word: *amalan, yauvanan* (B) for amalaṃ, yauvanaṃ.

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Dropping of *ṃ* in a feminine genitive suffix: *Dattadevyā, ratnavatyā* (BhN) for Dattadevyāṃ, ratnavatyāṃ, cf. Pali deviyā. Tendency to change *as* into *o* as in Pali: *nāgebhyo* (BhN) for nāgebhyaḥ, *Chāndogo* (BhN) for Chāndogaḥ:

Substitution of one consonant for another: *abhikāmika* (BhN) for abhigāmika, *yāyeta* (R) for jāyeta: *Bhaṭṭinanta* (BhN) for Bhattinanda, *Ananda* (BhN) for Ananta.

Assimilation of *rya* into *jja*: *vījja* (I_1) for vīrya, of *tsa* into *ccha*, *vacchare* (Dh Kho) for vatsare.

Dropping of *n* followed by *n*: *asmineva* (I_1) for asminneva, *tasmānaittāni* (BhN) for tasmānnaittāni.

Random substitution of one sibilant for another as in the Aśokan dialect of Kalsi, Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi: *darśita* (BhN) for darśita, *śakala* (I_1), for sakala, *jyotisā* (I_2) *jyotiṣā, duskara* (I_1) for duṣkara, *tosita* (I_2) for toṣita, *vansa* (I_2) for vaṃśa, *Satakratu* (Dh_1) for Śatakratu, *sasāsa, saśvat* (Dh 1) for śaśāsa, śaśvat, *addhaśotaḥ* (Dh_2) for arddhasrotaḥ, *Aślāyaṇa* (BhN) for Aslāyaṇa.

The dropping of *visarga* in a sandhi: *Yaśabhūti* (BhN) for Yaśobhūti.

Instances of Samprasāraṇa: *siri* (I_2) for śrī, *Bāhavṛca* (BhN) Bāhvṛcya.

Tendency to do away with *ref* in all cases of assimilation as in Pali: *suvaṇṇa, puṇṇa* (BhN) for suvarṇa, pūrṇa.

An instance of assimilation which is the same as in Pali: *Pradyunna* (BhN) for Pradyumna, Pali Pajjunna.

Dropping of v in the assimilation of *śvāsa, samucchāsa* (BhN) for samucchvāsa.

B. M. Barua

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The Date of the Fall of Valabhī

The city of Valabhī in Surāṣṭra was the capital of a glorious kingdom in Western India. Senapati Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Valabhī kingdom, belonged to the lineage of the mighty Maitrakas. Among his descendants king Dhruvasena II had the honour to be the son-in-law of emperor Harṣa and his son Dharasena IV, who led the kingdom to its widest extent, style himself as a Cakravartin. There are more than a hundred copper edicts issued by the Maitraka kingsg of Valabhī. They are dated 'the year 183' to 'the year 447' of the Valabhī era, i.e., 502 A.D. to 766 A.D. The last known king of Valabhī is Śilāditya VII, who succeeded his father in *circa* 760 A.D. At the beginning of the following century the territories of the Valabhī kingdom seem to have already passed under the sway of the Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. So the Maitraka power at Valabhī must have come to an end shortly after 766 A.D., the date of the last known edict of the Valabhī kingdom.

The tradition preserved in the Jain *Prabandhas* and other literary sources attributes the fall of Valabhī to an invasion of the Arab forces invited by Rańka Kākū, an offended citizen of Valabhī The 'Mleccha Lord' of the *Prabandhas* is identified by Alberuni with the lord of Al-Mansura, the Arab capital of Sindh. The Arab invasion that overthrew the power of Valabhī is generally identified with the expedition led by Abdul Malik in A.H. 160 (776 A.C.) during the reign of Khalif Al-Mahdi (775-785 A.C.). However, it does not stand the test of the dates given in the *Prabhandhas*. Hence the date of the fall of Valabhī must be reconsidered in the light of the passages in the *Prabandhas*.

The event is dated in the different *Prabandhas* as follows:—

(i) पणसयरी वासाइं तिन्नि सयाइं ऐक्कमेऊण ;
विक्कम-कालाउ तओ वलही-भङ्गो समुप्पन्नो ।
[*Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi; Purātana-Prabandha Saṅgraha*]

(ii) 'विक्रमादित्य-भूपालात् पञ्चर्षि-त्रिक-वत्सरे';[1]
जातो यं वलभी-भङ्गो ज्ञानिनः प्रथमं ययुः ।
[*Prabandha-Kośa*]

1 In the Singhi Jain Series edition, the editor read 573 for 'panc-arsi trika,' but it must be read 375 according to the rule 'Aṅkānāṁ vāmato gatiḥ.'

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(iii) तेन य सिन्नेण विक्कमाओ अट्ठहिं सएहिं
पणयालेहिं वरिसाणं गएहिं वलहिं भञ्जिऊण सो राया मारिओ ।
[*Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*]

(iv) श्रीवर्धमान-सम्वत्सरतो वत्सरशताष्टकेतिगते ;
पञ्चाधिकचत्वारिंशदधिके समजनि वलभ्याः भंगस्तुरुष्कविहित० ।
[Vijayasiṃha-sūri-*Prabandha*]

Thus the *Prabandhas* give three different dates for the fall of Valabhī, viz. (1) the Vikrama year 375 in (i) and (ii), (2) the Vikrama year 845 in (iii), and (3) the Vīra year 845 in (iv). Of these the first and the last are identical, since the Vīra year 845 corresponds to the Vikrama year 375. So there remain only two different dates (1) the Vikrama year 375 (or the Vīra year 845) and (2) the Vikrama year 845. The difference between these two dates is significant, since it exactly corresponds to the difference between the epochs of the two different eras, Vīra and Vikrama. So it evidently involves a confusion between the two eras, inasmuch as both dates have the same number of their year, which, however, is assigned to two different eras. One of the two must be true and the other false. The 'Vikrama year 375' is a mere equation for the 'Vīra year 845.' So the problem is whether the year 845 should be assigned to the Vīra era or to the Vikrama era. In case it is assigned to the Vīra era, the fall of Valabhī will be dated in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. This date will be too early for the fall of Valabhī, where the royal edicts were issued from the Valabhī year 183 to 477, i.e., from 502 to 766 A.D. The other alternative left to us is to assign the year 845 to the Vikrama era. This date seems to be quite probable, since it falls only a few years later than the date of the last known edict of Valabhī. Hence it may be concluded that the correct date for the fall Valabhī is the Vikrama year 845 (788-89), and that the other date 'Vikrama year 375' is simply a chronological equation for an erroneous assignment of the year 845 to the Vīra era. The Vīra year corresponding to the correct date (Vikrama 845) will be 1315, if such an equation is required.

Does this date tally with the date drawn from the records of the Arab historians? The first Arab invasion on Valabhī is dated A.H. 140 (758 A.D.), while the second expedition is dated A.H. 160 (776 A.D.). Generally the latter is supposed to be instrumental in the overthrow of Valabhī, inasmuch as it is dated shortly after the date of the last known

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edict of Valabhī. However, A.H. 160 (776 A.D.) does not correspond to V.S. 845 (789 A.D.). Nor do the Arab historians assign the fall of Valabhī to this expedition. On the contrary they record that sickness swept away a great portion of the troops and the rest had to return hurriedly and that it deterred the Khalif from any further attempts upon India. This implies that the final fall of Valabhī was neither accomplished in A.H. 160 nor again attempted up to the end of the reign of Khalif Al-Mahdi (775-785 A.D.). Then the event must have taken place during the reign of the next Khalif, Harun Rasid, who succeeded Al-Mahdi in A.H. 170 (786 A.D.). The Arab historians, however, do not record this important event that overthrew the glorious kingdom of Valabhī. Alberuni alone gives a brief account of the invasion. It may also be noted that he drew his information from a Hindu account and not from any earlier Arabic sources. The silence of the early Arab historians may presumably be attributed to the disgraceful impulse of destroying a glorious kingdom simply for the rich bribe received from a moneyed merchant intent on taking personal revenge on his king. Anyhow the date of the fall of Valabhī is not available from any of the Arab sources and in that case we have to rely solely on the Indian tradition preserved in the Jain *Prabandhas*.

As regards the identity of the 'Mleccha Lord' mentioned in the *Prabandhas*, it is already noted that Alberuni represents him as the lord of Al-Mansura, i.e., the Arab Governor of Sindh who was Governor of Sindh in V.S. 845 (789 A.D.). The governor appointed by the new Khalif in A.H. 170 (786 A.D.) was Salim Yunusi, who remained in charge of Sindh for four years, i.e., up to 790 A.D. So he should be identified with the 'Mleccha Lord' that was instrumental in the overthrow of the Valabhī kingdom. Thus the fall of Valabhī may be dated V.S. 845 (789 A.D.) and ascribed to the invasion of the Arab troops led by Governor Salim of Sindh.

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The Fire-Altar on Gupta Coins

On a number of the gold coins of the Imperial Guptas, the standing king on the obverse is represented as casting incense or offerings on a fire altar.[1] The *motif* is met with on the Standard and the Kāca types of Samudragupta, the Chatra type of Candragupta II, and the Swordsman type of Kumāragupta I.[2] The fire-altar as a *motif*, standing by itself, appears on some of the silver coins of Skandagupta.[3]

The *motif* of the king sacrificing at a fire altar can be traced through the Late Kushān prototype[4] of the Gupta gold coins to some of the copper coins of Vima Kadphises.[5] Its retention on the Gupta gold coins is usually regarded as an evidence of blind imitation of the Late Kushān coins, having no special significance of its own. This view is, however, open to doubt. The Gupta die-cutter can hardly be dubbed as a blind imitator of the Late Kushān craftsmen. He was not chary of introducing new elements into the coin-devices in place of older ones that might have lost their meaning in the changed circumstances of the day. Thus, on the Gupta gold coins the *garuḍa-dhvaja*, the *lāñchana* of the Guptas and of their god Vāsudeva Viṣṇu, occupies the place of the *triśūla*-standard on those of the Late Kushāns. The Gupta die-cutter was not slow to realise that the *triśūla*-standard would be a misfit on the coins of kings who called themselves *parama-bhāgavatas*. On the other hand, he was not unwilling to retain emblems and whole devices when they were not inconsistent with his own ideas. The enthroned goddess on the reverse of the standard type of Samudragupta is clearly copied from the seated Ardochṣo on the reverse of the Late Kushān coins. She is retained on the Gupta coins, because in her the Gupta die-cutter had recognised his own goddess Lakṣmī. Similarly, it may be argued that the *motif* of the king sacrificing at a fire-altar, found on the Early and Late Kushān coins, was retained on those of the Guptas, because it had its own meaning to the Indians of the age.

1 According to Dr. Altekar, the so-called fire-altar might be a *Tulasi vṛndāvana* or a Śiva-*liṅga* on which the king appears to offer *purodāśas* or oblations. See, *JNSI.*, IV, pp. 59-60, *Chief Editor's Note*.

2 Allan, *CICGDBM.*, pp. 1-5, 15-17, 34-37, 67-68.

3 Allan, *ibid.*, pp. 122-129, the Altar type.

4 *Num. Chron.*, 1893, Pl. VII. 5-8, and Pl. IX. 1-4.

5 Whitehead, *PMC*, I. Pl. XVII. 36.

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We can only guess at what that meaning could have been. In the *Raghuvaṁśam*, Kālidāsa, in the course of his description of the virtues possessed by the illustrious kings of the line of Raghu, says that they offered oblations to the holy fires in accordance with scriptural injuctions, honoured supplicants by granting their desires, inflicted punishment applicable to the crime, and awoke from sleep at the proper hour.[6] It will be seen from the above that the offering of oblations to the holy fires was regarded in the time of Kālidāsa, probably a contemporary of Candragupta II Vikramāditya, as one of the most important virtues of a king devoted to his duties. The "holy fires," according to Manu, were three, namely, the Gārhapatya, the Dakṣiṇa, and the Āhavanīya, and a *dvija*, that is, a person belonging to one or other of the three upper castes of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya, was duty-bound to consecrate and keep them up.[7]

We may now suggest that the depiction of the king as sacrificing at a fire altar on the coins of the Gupta emperors was intended to convey their great devotion to the three holy fires (*tretā*), enjoined by Manu and echoed by Kālidāsa.[8] Whether a similar significance attached also to the *motif* on the Early and Late Kushān coins, we do not at present know.

RABIS C. KAR

6 *Raghuvaṁśam*, I, 6:

यथाविधिहुताग्निनां यथकामार्चितार्थिनाम् ।
यथापरार्धदण्डानां यथाकालप्रबोधिनाम् ॥

7 Manu, II, 230-231.

8 Sometimes we hear of five holy fires (*pañcāgni*), instead of three. See, Manu, III, 100, 185.

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Two Slips in Kāmandaka's Nītisāra

In *Nītisāra* (XIV. 57) dealing with the varieties of alliances (*sandhi*) between States, Kāmandaka quotes Bhāradvāja as urging a weak prince to take stock of his own might, and fight with his powerful adversary "like a lion attacking an elephant". This is based upon the argument that of one who with few troops falls upon a stronger prince and kills him all his enemies become submissive. From a quotation in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (XII. 1), however, we learn that Bhāradvāja advised a weak prince who is attacked by a powerful enemy to be ever submissive, behaving like the reed in a current of water. On the other hand Viśālākṣa advised the prince in such a situation to fight with all his forces, for the display of valour removes all calamities. It will be noticed that not only Viśālākṣa's conclusion but also his argument agrees with the view attributed to Bhāradvāja in Kāmandaka's text. It therefore follows that Bhāradvāja in Kāmandaka's quotation is a slip for Viśālakṣa.

In *Nītisāra* (XVI. 40) relating to the policies severally called marching, neutrality, dual policy and seeking protection, Kāmandaka quotes his 'master' (*guru*) as saying that although *vigraha* (war) is the only *guṇa* (policy) of which all the others are varieties, the number of *guṇas* should be reckoned as six, since they assume different forms under different circumstances. In the above passage Kāmandaka undoubtedly understands the term 'master' to refer to Kauṭilya. This is proved not only by the explanation of the commentator Śaṅkarārya, but also and above all by Kāmandaka's own references in other parts of his work (cf. *Nītisāra*, I, 7-8; III, 6). Actually, however, Kauṭilya (VII. 1), while emphatically declaring that the *guṇas* are six in number, argues that they are the variants of *sandhi* and *vigraha* regarded as the root-forms by Vātavyādhi. The conclusion is therefore irresistible, strange as it may be seen, that Kāmandaka has misquoted Kauṭilya. In this case the source of Kāmandaka's confusion remains untraced, for neither in Kauṭilya nor in Kāmandaka do we come across any older authority taking *vigraha* to be the only root-form of foreign policy.

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REVIEWS

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS SIND. By C. L. Mariwalla, Karachi, 1947.

The annexation of Sind is an important chapter in modern Indian history and throws lurid light on the character and working of British Imperialism in this country. Unfortunately no serious attempt has so far been made by any scholar to make a thorough study of this subject. Sometime ago we came across a small volume entitled *British Policy Towards Sind* by Mr. Khera which, though based on unpublished records, is a very incomplete and haphazard review of the subject. Mr. Mariwalla's booklet is a collection of essays covering the period 1799-1839. It does not continue the story to the climax: the absorption of Sind in the Company's Empire. Although the author has not cared to give us a bibliography, his foot notes show that he has made use of unpublished records as well as relevant published works.

The first essay deals with "The English Factory in Sind, 1799-1800." At first the British tried to cover their political designs under the garb of commerical enterprise; but their factories had to be closed down soon after their establishment and they decided to send professedly political missions for the exploration of Sind. The second essay gives an account of the missions of Seton, Smith and Saddler during the period 1801-1820. Mr. Mariwalla concludes that during the first two decades of the 19th century the British Indian Government did not covet the land of the Amirs; its policy was to keep aloof from the stormy politics of Central Asia. The essay on "Commercial Navigation of the Indus, 1821-1832" introduces us to the period of annexation. The opening of the Indus naturally paved the way for the infiltration of British political influence. The essay on "Sind and the Russian Scare, 1833-1838" shows how the Amirs invited the suzerainty of the British in order to escape subordination to Ranjit Singh. The last essay, "Sind and the First Afghan War, 1839," deals mainly with the fall of Karachi.

To prepare a readable survey of Sind history in relation to British Imperialism is no easy task. In the first place, such a survey must contain a detailed account of the internal condition of Sind. A reader who is not familiar with the mutual relation of the Amirs and the commercial im-

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portance of their dominions is hardly in a position to push his way through the tangle of British diplomacy. Unfortunately Mr. Mariwalla's essays contain very little information on conditions within Sind. Secondly, the historian of Sind must give his readers a clear picture of importance of Sind in the international politics of those days and explain the conflicting interests of the British, the Russians, the Afghans and the Sikhs. Without such a wide perspective the history of Sind may resolve itself into a dull summary of British records. So much cannot, of course, be expected from the volume under review which is a modest collection of essays, not a complete survey of Sind history. But Mr. Mariwalla writes well and knows how to use original records, and he is competent to give us such a book on his province as we badly need.

A. C. Banerjee

OFF THE MAIN TRACK. By Dr. S. N. Sen, Director of Archives, Government of India. Calcutta, 1944.

This small volume consists of eleven papers reprinted from different journals in which they were published during the years 1941-43. The first paper ("survival of some Asokan Forms in Seventeenth Century Bengali") is an interesting study from the linguistic point of view. The author shows that certain Prakrit words used in Asokan inscriptions are found in a Bengali work composed by Dom Antonio do Rozario (who was a Bengali prince and not a Portuguese nobleman) in the seventeenth century. In "Some Sculptural Devices in the Architecture of the Purana Qila" Dr. Sen suggests that the fighting lions found on the *Talaqi Darwaza* of Sher Shah's fort may be taken to indicate that "the exploit which raised Sher Shah in the estimation of his master was a single-handed combat with a lion and not with a tiger." Farid is said to have fought with a *sher*, which is usually taken to mean a tiger, but which Dorn in his translation of Niamatullah's *Makhzana-i-Afghana* takes to mean a lion. The remaining nine papers are based on unpublished records and throw light on several interesting aspects of British Indian history. The petty problems which vexed the Calcutta Police in the days of Sir John Shore will probably provoke the laughter of the guardians of law and order in these days of "Direct Action," but Dr. Sen's paper on the subject shows that historians must take proper notice of

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them. "The Cannanore Incident, 1783-84," which refers to an unimportant episode in the Second Mysore War, attracts our notice to an important constitutional problem connected with the Regulating Act. "General Ventura's *Jahgir*" gives an interesting account of the private life of that well-known adventurer in the Sikh Court. "Velu Tampi's Rebellion" takes us back to an almost forgotten incident in the history of Travancore. He tried to organise a powerful anti-British confederacy for the overthrow of British power in South India, and although he failed, "his worst enemy could not attribute his discomfiture to lack of daring or enterprise." "Confession of a Dacoit" throws a flood of lurid light on the condition of the districts of Noakhali and Barisal towards the close of the 18th century. In those days dacoits were not only assisted but even employed by Police officers and Zamindars, and British rulers ignorant of local conditions and betrayed by their Indian agents were quite helpless. "Lord Cornwallis and Slave Trade in Bengal" affords us a glimpse into another side of life in Bengal in those days. "A Note on Major Polier's Resignation" introduces us to a Frenchman who was connected with the Asiatic Society of Bengal in its infancy and left for us a valuable historical tract on Emperor Shah Alam which has recently been edited and published by Dr. P. C. Gupta. "Dr. St. John in India" contains important information about Western India in the eighties of the 17th century. "The story of a Trading Boat, 1793" is based on unpublished Portuguese records preserved in the Cochin Records Office. The volume under review shows how apparently unimportant records "often throw unexpected light on the social and economic condition of the country."

B.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
vol. XXVII, parts III-IV

K. B. VYAS.—*The Vikramāditya Problem: A fresh approach.* Relying principally on the tradition preserved in the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* the writer puts forward arguments to show that there existed a Vikramāditya, ruling in Avantī in the middle of the 1st century B.C. An ordinary member of the Mālava gaṇa (democracy) and originally known by the name of Vikramaśīla, he had risen to the position of a general by dint of sheer ability, and subsequently, received the title of Rājan in recognition of his glorious leadership of the Malava republic, which in alliance with the Kaṭhas (kṛtas) achieved remarkable victories over the Śakas. The occasion was marked by the institution of an era, which is found in different records to be differently associated with the names of Vikrama, the Mālavas, and the Kṛtas.

S. A. JOGLEKAR.—*Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi.* Evidence is adduced to prove that the Sātavāhanas belonged to the solar stock, and that the term 'Sātavāhana' may be interpreted as saptavāhana, meaning the Sun. 'Sātakarṇi' also means the Sun—the seven-rayed one—or an arrow or a ray of the Sun."

P. K. GODE.—*Carriage-manufacture in the Vedic Period and in Ancient China in 1121 B.C.*

S. K. BELVALKAR.—*Interpretation of the Parvasaṃgraha Figures.* In the First Book of the *Mahābhārata,* there is a descriptive list of contents, giving for each Parvan the total of its chapters and ślokas. The Śloka figures were arrived at, it is contended, not by counting the number of syllables but by counting the actual number of stanzas whether composed of short or long metres, and two or six pādas. In the case of prose passages, the sentences were taken as units.

—.—*Saṃjaya's "Eye Divine."* Saṃjaya was a clever and energetic man and was the official reporter to Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Naturally, he was selected as the chronicler of the war news during the Kurukṣetra war. The redactor of the *Mahābhārata* granted him 'Divine Eye' to heighten his "reputation for veracity."

Bhāratīya Vidyā. vol. VIII, nos. 5-7 (May-July, 1947)

LUDWIK STERNBACH.—*India as described by Mediæval European Travellers.* It is pointed out that accounts of India as left by later

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mediaeval European travellers contain stories of imaginary diamond mines, and descriptions of fabulous animals, trees, plants, human beings and phenomena.

A. D. PUSALKAR.—*Vikramāditya in the Purāṇas.* The *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* gives the genealogy of Vikramāditya with his father's name as Gandharvasena. Vikrama is said to have vanquished the Śakas and founded an era. The *Skandapurāṇa* makes Śūdraka earlier than Vikramāditya, placing the latter in the Kali year 3020 (=82 B.C.).

A. S. GOPANI.—*Some of the missing Links in the History of Astrology.* This instalment of the paper supplies information about nine writers on Astrology or Astronomy viz. Āryabhaṭa I, Varāhamihira, Śrīṣeṇa, Viṣṇucandra, Brahmagupta, Lalla, Padmanābha, Śrīdhara and Mahāvīra, who flourished between the 5th and the 9th centuries of the Christian era.

S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI.—*The Aryans.* The paper contains arguments in support of the following opinions: The original habitat of the Vedic Aryans was the Indus-Gangetic valley. The Indo-Hatti, the Mitanni, the Iranians, and the Aryans of the West, represent the westward migrations of Indo-Aryans as early as 3000 B.C. The Indo-Aryan languages of Europe represent a later phase of the Vedic Sanskrit modified by a different environment. Astronomical evidence of the Veda points to the beginning of Vedic civilization in about 10,000 B.C. Dravidians do not represent a different race and culture, nor their languages show any extra-Indian origin, the proto-Indic being a cosmopolitan civilisation developed mainly from Vedic sources.

Journal of the Bihar Research Society
vol. XXXIII, parts I & II (March & June, 1947)

G. RAMADAS.—*Puṣkara.* Puṣkara, a place of pilgrimage mentioned in the Vana Parvan of the *Mahābhārata* is believed to have been in the site of the Padagada hill, which was once the chief town of the region called Kośala in the present Jeypore State in Orissa.

B. G. TAMASKAR.—*Malik Ambar and the Portuguese.*

JAYA KANTA MISRA.—*Some Aspects of Maithila Culture.* The cultural life in Mithilā is discussed under the following heads: Respect for traditional learning, the religion of Mithilā, Maithila 'Kulinism,' love of music and drama, Maithila folk literature and Maithila humour.

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR.—*Mir Jumla's Administration in the Karnatak.*

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Journal of the University of Bombay
vol. XVI, pt. I (July, 1947)

B. A. SALETORE.—*King Śūdraka.* King Śūdraka, the reputed author of the *Mṛcchakaṭika,* who is sometimes placed before Kālidāsa, sometimes identified with Daṇḍin and generally taken to be a mythical figure, has been identified in the article with the Deccan ruler of the 7th century known as Śivamāra I belonging to the ancient Gaṅga house.

S. KOTAK (MRS.).—*Indian Songs in their Social Setting.* Songs of different veins expressing various sentiments as given here with their English translations reflect the social and religious life of the Hindus.

H. D. VELANKAR.—*Hymns to Indra in Maṇḍala VIII.* Eighteen hymns (76-78; 80-82; 88-93; 95-100) to Indra occurring in the 8th Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda have been translated into English with annotations.

V. A. GADGIL.—*The Aśvins.* The twin gods Aśvins, possessed of the power of healing and associated with the Sun, represent 'the plants and the faith of the mortals.'

H. R. KARNIK.—*Some Symbolical Legends from the first Kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.* Eight symbolical stories introduced to explain matters connected with the sacrifice have been discussed.

M. R. MAJMUDAR.—*Illustrated Mss. of Vilvamaṅgala's Bālagopāla-stuti.*

G. K. BHAT.—*The Problem of Karṇabhāra.* Bhāsa's one-act play *Karṇabhāra* is a self-sufficing piece depicting with a tragic background the generous trait of Karṇa's character. The *bhāra* in the title means the burden—"the sense of inevitable doom that weighs on the mind of Karṇa."

HIRALAL K. KAPADIA.—*The Doctrine of Ahiṃsā in the Jaina Canon.*

T. S. MAHABALE.—*Emergent Evolution and Sāṃkhya Philosophy.*

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The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XXIII **December, 1947** **No. 4**

Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Śrī Caitanya*

1. *Preliminary Remarks*

Kṛṣṇa's activities as depicted in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Ch. X) expressive of his amorous relations with the Gopīs (cow-herdesses) of Vraja (Vṛndāvana, Gokula etc.) such as *rāsa-līlā* (community dancing at night), concealing the garments and so forth, have been viewed differently by different scholars. They are criticised adversely by some of them on the ground that as Kṛṣṇa was born as a human being, breaches of the rule of human society by him cannot be upheld. Not only are such critics found among the people of religious persuasions other than Vaiṣṇavism, but

*ABBREVIATIONS :

(1) *Bh* = *Śrimad Bhāgavata* (Murshidabad Ed.).
(2) *BhRS* = *Bhākti-rasāmṛtasindhu* by Rūpa Gosvāmin.
(3) *BP* = *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* (Vangavasi Press Ed.)
(4) *BU* = *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*
(5) *C* = *Śri Caitanyacaritāmṛta* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (Devakinandan Press Ed.).
I = Ādi Līlā.
II = Madhya Lilā.
III = Antya Lilā.
(6) *GC* = *Gopālacampū* by Jīva Gosvāmin.
I = Pūrva Campū.
II = Uttara Campū.
(7) *GL* = *Govindalīlāmṛta* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (Murshidabad Ed.).
(8) *KK* = *Śri Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* by Līlā-śuka (Bilvamaṅgala Ṭhākura).
(9) *L* = *Lalitamādhava* by Rūpa Gosvāmin.
(10) *MUP* = *Mahābhāgavata Upapurāṇa.*
(11) *UN* = *Ujjavalanīlamaṇi* by Rūpa Gosvāmin with Locanarocanī commentary of Jīva Gosvāmin, and Ānandacandrikā commentary of Viśvanātha Cakravartin (Murshidabad Ed.).

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also among many educated Hindus irrespective of creeds, whose rational trend of mind has got the better of their beliefs relating to this subject.

I propose to dwell, in this dissertation, on the reasoned answers that can be given to the criticisms by those who love Hinduism and hold Kṛṣṇa in reverence.

2. *Adverse Criticisms*

(*a*) *Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the distinguished Sanskritist and antiquarian, makes the following remarks regarding the debasement of the Vaiṣṇava religion in the cult of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in his *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems:*

"The worship of Rādhā, more prominently even than that of Kṛṣṇa, has given rise to a sect, the members of which assume the garb of women with all their ordinary manners .....Their appearance and acts are so disgusting that they do not show themselves very much in public..... Before, Kṛṣṇa was a person who had amorous dalliances with the Gopīs generally. But now Kṛṣṇa had a definite consort in Rādhā, who had a large number of female companions, who were probably the original Gopīs. She is indissolubly united with him in the creed of the worshippers. This Rādhā is not mentioned by name in the *Harivaṃśa*, *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata*. In the last, however, among the cowherdesses engaged in Kṛṣṇa's amorous sports in Vṛndāvana on an autumnal moonlit night, there was one with whom the youthful god carried on his dalliance further after he had become invisible to the rest. This woman became proud of Kṛṣṇa's special attachment for her, whereupon the god disappeared from her also. Here was contained a suggestion which probably led to the creation of Rādhā in later times.....The introduction of Rādhā's name and her elevation to a higher position even than Kṛṣṇa's operated as a degrading element in Vaiṣṇavism, not only because she was a woman, but also because she was originally a mistress of the cowherd god, and her amorous dealings were of an overt character.

In the Rāma cultus Sītā is a dutiful and loving wife.....There is no amorous suggestion in her story as in that of Rādhā, and consequently the moral influence of Rāmaism is more wholesome." (pp. 86, 87).

"Rāmānuja's system is free from that repulsive form which Vaiṣṇavism assumes when Rādhā and other cowherdesses are introduced." (p. 57).

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(b) Bankim Chandra

Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the great litterateur of Bengal, has analysed Kṛṣṇa's character in his *Kṛṣṇacaritra*. The results of his intensive analysis of the many qualities of Kṛṣṇa are thus embodied in his remarks: "Kṛṣṇa will stand out as the resplendent embodiment of all good qualities in all places and at all times. He is unconquerable, unconquered, pure, saintly, cheerful, merciful, unflagging in the fulfilment of undertakings, religious, well versed in the Vedas, rules of conduct and the injunctions of religion, philanthropic, just, forgiving, impartial, stern as a ruler, free from worldly attachment, self-less, self-controlled and austere. He performed his duties with human qualities, but he was in fact superhuman. It is for the reader to decide for himself whether he was superhuman or divine in view of the expression of his character as a superman though in ordinary human form. If he comes to the decision that he was an ordinary human being, he will at least concede as Rhys Davids did in regard to the Buddha (Śākya Siṃha) that Kṛṣṇa was the "Wisest and the Greatest of the Hindus" (*Kṛṣṇacaritra*, Pt. VII, Ch. 2). According to Bankim Chandra, all the portions of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* etc. bearing on Kṛṣṇa's life cannot be accepted as reliable in the same degree. They contain, no doubt, the element of historicity, but at the same time, some harbour a number of allegories; while a few others present such romantic accounts of love that they, in his opinion, should be looked upon as spurious interpolations and rejected on that ground: "The traditional narratives that throw on Kṛṣṇa's character the taint of illicit love, and secret appropriations of articles of food from the women of Vraja in his early days have no foundation in truth. The residuum of historical facts that I find in the accounts of his early life in Vraja is this: Vasudeva removed secretly his wife Rohiṇī, and his two sons Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, to Nanda's residence (in Vraja) to elude the tyrannous Kaṃsa of Mathurā. Kṛṣṇa passed here the days of his childhood and early youth, and endeared himself to all by his handsome looks and attractive qualities. He grew very strong physically and always defended the cowherds by killing the ferocious beasts and such other harmful monsters. He proved to be of service to all men and all beings from his boyhood.....and realized within himself the true spirit of religion in his early youth." (*Kṛṣṇacaritra*, Pt. II, Ch. II).

The angle from which Bhandarkar and Bankim Chandra have looked at the subject does not leave any room for any other attitude than rejec-

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tion of the stories appertaining to Vraja on the ground that they cannot be reconciled with the greatness of Kṛṣṇa's character outside Vraja in the later periods of his life. The object of this discourse is to explore the possibility of the existence of any other perspective in which Kṛṣṇa's life in Vraja involving the love episodes and his various pranks might leave a wholly different impression upon the mind.

3. *Kṛṣṇa from the Historical Standpoint*

Kṛṣṇa's life may conveniently be resolved into three chapters. They comprise—

(I) the period spent at Gokula and Vṛndāvana (within Vraja) which relates to (*a*) his daily round of work, boyish amusement, and wayward pranks (*b*) his feats indicative of strength and prowess and (*c*) the events found in the love episodes;

(II) the period commencing from the defeat and death of Kaṃsa to the promise of military and other kinds of help made by Kṛṣṇa to the Pāṇḍavas after their return from exile; and

(III) the period covering the Bhārata War, and thereafter, the decease of Kṛṣṇa.

3. (i) *The First Chapter of Kṛṣṇa's Life*

(*a*) The boyhood of Kṛṣṇa was spent in the extremely sweet and beautiful surroundings of Gokula and Vṛndāvana. While allowing the herds of cattle to graze about in the forests for pasturage from forenoon to sunset, he used to play with his comrades Śrīdāma, and Sudāma etc., with whom he had sincere friendship. These as well as the fulfilment of all the boyish demands by his loving and indulgent mother Yaśodā contributed much towards sweetening his early days.

(*b*) The slaying of Pūtanā, breaking of a cart (the form assumed by a demon), uprooting of the two Arjuna trees (shapes assumed by two Yakṣas under a curse), liberating thereby the suffering Yakṣas, killing of the demons Agha, Baka and Vatsa, baffling the god Brahman's attempt to outwit Kṛṣṇa by concealing his herds of cattle in the caves, compelling after a fierce fight the monstrous snake Kālīya dwelling in the lake of that name to leave it for the sea with his mates and progeny, disconcerting Indra by thwarting him in his unreasonable demands on the people of the region, and such other events constitute the episodes of his courage and heroism.

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(*c*) The events relating to the romantic relations between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā along with the Gopīs took place during this period.

3. (ii) *The Second Chapter of Kṛṣṇa's Life*

His achievements at Vṛndāvana and Gokula made Kṛṣṇa an object of great love and reverence. Going to Mathurā after leaving Vṛndāvana marks the beginning of second chapter in Kṛṣṇa's biography. In it the undermentioned events are noteworthy: Killing Kaṃsa, offering resistance to attack by Jarāsandha, waging of several fights with Jarāsandha, and as the ultimate expedient his migration to Dvārakā with all his friends, relations and followers, dodging away consenting Rukmiṇī for marrying her by frustrating his rivals about to assemble at a Svayaṃvara (ceremony for the bride selecting the bridgroom of her choice), slaying Narakāsura and effecting the deliverance of a large number of captive girls, killing Jarāsandha and releasing one hundred imprisoned chiefs, and putting Śiśupāla and Sālva to death.

3. (iii) *The Third Chapter of Kṛṣṇa's Life*

Kṛṣṇa's fame and influence spread throughout India. The people commenced looking upon him as the greatest man of his time. For this reason, when the princes from the various parts of India and the friends and relations of the Pāṇḍavas assembled for the celebration of Yudhiṣṭhira's *Rājasūya* sacrifice, the *arghya* (flowers etc.) betokening the highest position in the august assemblage was offered first to Kṛṣṇa on the advice of the experienced and honoured Bhīṣma according to the prevailing custom. This step was supported by all excepting Śiśupāla and his few followers. It can be inferred from this incident that Kṛṣṇa had been able to occupy a place of love and reverence in the minds of most of the people. After this, in the battle of Kurukṣetra and afterwards, his courage, ability, far-sightedness, insight into the fundamentals of statesmanship and injunctions of religion, and nobility of character raised him to the rank of divinity in the eye of the people.

We find in the *Mahābhārata* that Kṛṣṇa in this way attained the position of an *avatāra* (a divinity in human form) during his very life-time. He was not only the friend and philosopher of the high-ranking princes like the Pāṇḍavas, but also an object of profound reverence to the extraordinarily influential and very highly qualified personages like Bhīṣma and

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Droṇa. In addition, the epic endows him with supernatural powers in some of its episodes.

4. *Categories of Avatāras*

When by the will of Brahman, a portion of his infinite powers and qualities materializes on this earth in a carnal form, an *avatāra* is said to make his appearance. Some western scholars are of opinion that men possessed of rare and extraordinary qualifications are sometimes regarded as *avatāras*, and so Kṛṣṇa also rose to be an *avatāra* in the same way.

Categories are noticed to be existent among the *avatāras*. It is found in the *Purāṇas* that they mention one or more missions which the *avatāras* come down to fulfil. All the nine incarnations from the Fish to Buddha are illustrations in point. Though Rāma's achievements covered a long period, he has been described as endowed with a fourth part of total powers and qualities sent down. The qualities of a good householder, reverence for father and attachment to brothers, devotion to truth and such other qualifications necessary for the head of a royal household are noticeable in him in an extraordinary degree. He also conferred a great benefit on the world of his day by killing Rāvaṇa and his followers. But his character was not so versatile as that of Kṛṣṇa.

5. *Avatāra and Avatārin*

To the Vaiṣṇava devotees, Kṛṣṇa is not merely an *avatāra* but also the *avatārin* i.e. the source of all incarnations. Born in human form, he spent his days on the earth as a human being. But still he was the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe, the maker of countless stars and planets of great magnitude on the one hand, and infinitesimally minute living and non-living substances on the other. Emanated as they have from Svarūpa Brahman (qualified Brahman) who is none other than Kṛṣṇa himself, he is greater than the greatest, and smaller than the smallest (*aṇor aṇīyān mahato mahīyān*). Out of compassion for the dvotees, he assumed human form and appeared in flesh and blood. He was Bhagavāi, himself (*Bh*, I, 3, 28; and *C*, I, 2, 40).

The distance between an *Avatāra* and *Avatārin* is infinite. For this reason, it is not possible to establish by arguments that a particular superman elevated by virtue of his extraordinary intellectual and other qualities to the rank of an avatāra in the estimation of the people is really the Avatārin (i.e. Brahman) the source of all avatāras. This is possible only

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by belief in *āpta-vākya* i.e. belief in the assertions of 'Seers' as recorded in the Śrutis (Vedas or treatises regarded as ranking equally high). *Āpta-vākya,* it may be mentioned, is according to its character, accepted as an axiom or given the weight of a correct guiding principle, or treated as a general proposition of dependable evidentiary value that can be used as a major or minor premise in a syllogism for reaching a reliable conclusion.

किशोर स्वरुप कृष्ण स्वयं अवतारी। (*C*, I, 2, 45)

(Kṛṣṇa appearing as a tender youth is none other than the *Avatārin*).

ईश्वर परम कृष्ण स्वयं भगवान्। (*C*, II, 8, 208)

(Kṛṣṇa is the great Īśvara and Bhagavān himself).

6. *Parīkṣit's Doubts and Attempt to remove them*

When Parīkṣit, the grandson of Arjuna, was listening to the reading and interpretation of the *Bhāgavata* by the great ascetic and devotee Śukadeva, he put the question as to how Kṛṣṇa, who is Bhagavān himself in human form and belonged to human society as one of its members, could commit serious breaches of rules of that society. At the end of the detailed description of *rāsalīlā* (group dancing) of Kṛṣṇa with large numbers of Gopīs on a festive full-moon night in a sequestered place in a forest at Vṛndāvana on the bank of the Yamunā, the argument put forward by Śukadeva in answer to the above query, in condonation of what appeared to Parīkṣit to be serious offences, was that Kṛṣṇa had absolute control over his senses and used introversion. But the reply left Parīkṣit unsatisfied. He said, "you told me that positions of the powers and qualities of the Almighty Master of the Universe are made operative on the earth through the Avatāras for initiating religion and suppressing irreligion. He is himself the promulgator, creator and preserver of the bounds of the activities covered by the religion. In view of this fact, how could he practise the reverse of the same? It is not a slight deviation from the injunctions of religion like the eating of the prohibited Kalañja (meat), but it is the serious crime of association with women in wedlock. If it be retorted that for a human being like Kṛṣṇa whose desires were self-fulfilled it is not a transgression, then my query is "If he is above all material wants, then why did he commit these condemnable acts? Oh, scrupulous

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observer . injunctions, I feel much agitated by these doubts, which please remove." (*Bh.*, X, 33, 27. 28).

It is clear from the terms used by Parīkṣit in regard to certain aspects of the conduct of Kṛṣṇa described by him as serious offences deserving penalties that he could not in any way reconcile himself to the position advocated by Śukadeva that Kṛṣṇa was free from all blame.

In response to the above request made by Parīkṣit, Śukadeva adduced the following arguments in addition to the one given above:

"(1) Masterful beings like Prajāpati, Indra, Candra and Viśvāmitra committed offences and breaches of injunctions of religion. They are powerful and therefore they are immune from the imputation of blame to them. Look at Agni (Fire) that eats up every kind of food including the prohibited ones, but powerful as he is, the blame cannot touch him.

But those who do not possess such powers i.e. those who are subject to the serious limitations of their bodies etc. should not commit such offences even in thought. As any one other than Rudra is sure to die if he takes poison, a human being behaving similarly through foolishness cannot but court certain death.

"(2) You should not think that if the path trodden by the great be not of such a nature that it can be followed by others, then examples set by them cannot be expected to be of any value. The answer to such a question is that you should follow the preachings of the great but not their acts, because the latter may not be always vehicles of truth (dharma). Hence those of his actions that are in conformity with their teachings are to be followed, and not all their actions generally.

"(3) Should you ask why the masterful beings should commit the offences at all, then the answer is that their acts do not cause any effects for good or evil either in this world or in the next owing to the fact that those beings are devoid of the sense of I-ness (Ahaṃkāra). If thus the apparently kuśala and the akuśala actions (the so-called sinful and meritorious actions) of the great beings are devoid of any results, then how Īśvara, who is the ultimate cause of existence of all beings,—the gods, men, and the lower animals of the whole universe, be fixed with the responsibility of actions, and apportioned adulation or condemnation.

"(4) How can there be bondage of *Karma* (actions) for Him who assumes the mortal coil and shakes it off at will. The mere fragrance issuing from the pollens of the lotuses of his feet severs the *Karma* bon-

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dage of the self-contented Munis inhaling the perfume of his feet through *Yoga* and roaming about as free souls after liberation. He cannot therefore be subject to any bondage by his actions good or evil.

"(5) Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa being none other than a variant of Brahman pervades the mental and bodily system of each of the Gopīs and their husbands and also of every living being. He is internal witness of the operations of *buddhi* (judgment) etc. He came down to this earth in human physique only for *līlā* i.e. to give scope for the exercise of his abundant physical spirit. He was not an embodied spirit like an ordinary mortal and so how can he but be immune from any taint of evil actions.

"(6) Though Kṛṣṇa was *āpta-kāma* with his desires self-fulfilled, he incarnated out of mercy for the devotees generally and established the amorous relations with the Gopīs in order to offer opportunities specially to such of them as have the sentiments of love strong in them to turn their minds towards Himself.

"(7) The residents of Vraja were overcome by Bhagavān's (Kṛṣṇa's) māyā i.e. supernatural influence under which they used to feel as if their respective wives were by their side though away with Kṛṣṇa, and so they did not feel displeased." (*Bh*, X, 33, 29-37).

But all the above arguments cannot satisfy those who are more rationally minded than devotional, and specially those who are less imbued with trustful spirit as the result of their Western education. Hence, it is necessary to find out other viewpoints, from which the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa relating to the Gopīs at Vraja can be explained with reason.

It is held by some that the Buddha laid himself liable to the charge of disobedience to his father by renouncing the world. Assuming that he was so liable, it can be said in support of the step taken by him that he was compelled to take it in response to the call of higher duties. But Kṛṣṇa cannot be supported on a similar ground. He was born in human form as a member of human society, and therefore it is not looked upon as reasonable by them that he can break the rules of the society with impunity. It was the mission of Kṛṣṇa to set up before the world a high ideal of human conduct. In fact, if portions of Kṛṣṇa's *līlā* at Vṛndāvana be kept out of sight, it will have to be admitted that Kṛṣṇa's character was full of greatness and therefore exemplary. It is clear therefore that the adverse criticisms are all directed against the amorous relations with

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the Gopīs. For throwing light on the subject, it is necessary to study the details of the practice (*sādhana*) of *bhakti* (devotion) through the various sentiments.

7. *What is Bhakti (Devotion)?*

In Hinduism, there are three kinds of *sādhana* (practices for reaching the spiritual goal) viz. through *jñāna* (intellect), *karma* (actions), and *bhakti* (sentiments). The Vaiṣṇavas have adopted the last as their path of *sādhana*. The reason for selecting this means of spiritual advance lies in the fact that it begins with the establishment of a mental nexus between the devotee and the *Iṣṭadevatā* (the desired deity) i.e. the object of devotion, mental exercises, and other practices, with whom direct communion is sought for his extreme spiritual welfare, the mental nexus making the spiritual efforts more relishable than those in the two other lines of endeavour viz. *jñāna* and *karma*.

Jñāna-yoga. This is yoga or effort through concentration of intellection or knowledge. The knowledge consists in the realization of the true nature of the universe and the causes that have produced it and are keeping it on. The acquisition of the requisite knowledge enables the *sādhaka* to perceive that the true nature of the feeling of separateness of the human soul from the Soul pervading the universe, and this perception through real knowledge leads to the ultimate release of the individual soul from the earthly bondage.

Karma-yoga. This is effort through concentration of actions. The term *karma* has been used in the Śāstras in two senses viz: (*a*) the performance of rituals (of the karma-kāṇḍa) with a view to the acquisition of material gains in this world and the fulfilment of other desires such as the attainment of heaven for other-worldly enjoyments. (*b*) The other kind of *karma* is the one inculcated in the *Gītā* consisting in the devoted performance of one's duties as indicated in the *Śāstras* for his station and status in life in the frame-work of the four *varṇas* (castes) and the four *āśramas* (stages of life viz: student, householder, anchorite dwelling in a forest, and wandering ascetic) without caring for the fruits of his actions in order to reach the ultimate spiritual goal.

Bhakti-yoga. This consists in effort through the *yoga* (concentration) of sentiments. The main-springs of this line of spiritual endeavour are two viz: (*a*) complete relinquishment of *kāminī* (woman) and *kāñcana*

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(gold) symbolising the totality of all material attractions that tie down an individual to this world and (*b*) all-out self-surrender to the *iṣṭa-devatā* (say Kṛṣṇa). Whatever may be the nature of the tie that the devotee brings to subsist between the *iṣṭa-devatā* and himself,—*dāsya* (servant to master), *sakhya* (friend to friend), *vātsalya* (son to parents, or *vice-versa*) *mādhurya* (love in wedlock or outside same), the radical basis of all kinds of *sādhana* through sentiments is the direction of the whole heart to the *iṣṭa-devatā*. He does not want either the pleasure of heaven in the other world, or salvation, because the former indicates selfish anxiety for his own happiness and diminution of his full attention to the happiness of *iṣṭa devatā*, while the latter implies merger in the *iṣṭa-devatā* leading to his own extinction and thereby disappearance of his opportunity for rendering perpetual service to Him.

भुक्ति मुक्ति आदि वाञ्छा यदि मने हय।
साधन करिले प्रेम उत्पन्न ना हय ॥ (*C*, II, 19, 554)

[If the idea of enjoyment or salvation arises in the mind, *sādhana* cannot lead to the emergence of *prema* (deep feeling of devotion)]

स्वर्ग मोक्ष कृष्णभक्त नरक करि माने। (*C*, II, 19, 577)

(A devotee of Kṛṣṇa looks upon heaven and salvation as hell).

An incident narrated in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* puts in clear light what real *bhakti* (devotion) is. Śrī Caitanya stayed at the house of a Vaiṣṇava at Śrīraṅgakṣetra (Śrīraṅgam) for four months. A Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇa used to read out the *Gītā* in the temple of the place. Finding that he read the *Gītā* every day incorrectly with overwhelming joy, some taunted and some others traduced him. But he made light of these interruptions and went on reading aloud with much satisfaction, and as long as he continued these studies, the indications of the deepest joy arising out of thrilling devotional feeling, such as tears, tremor, perspiration were visible on his body. One day, Śrī Caitanya asked him which passages of the *Gītā* affected him so deeply by their appealing significations. The Brāhmaṇa replied, "I am foolish, I do not understand the meanings of the terms, but I am reading the *Gītā* in compliance with the instructions of my *guru* (spiritual preceptor). I do not care whether I am correct in my pronunciation. Whenever I read, I visualize the beautiful Śrī Kṛṣṇa sitting on Arjuna's chariot (in the battle-field at Kurukṣetra) and giving

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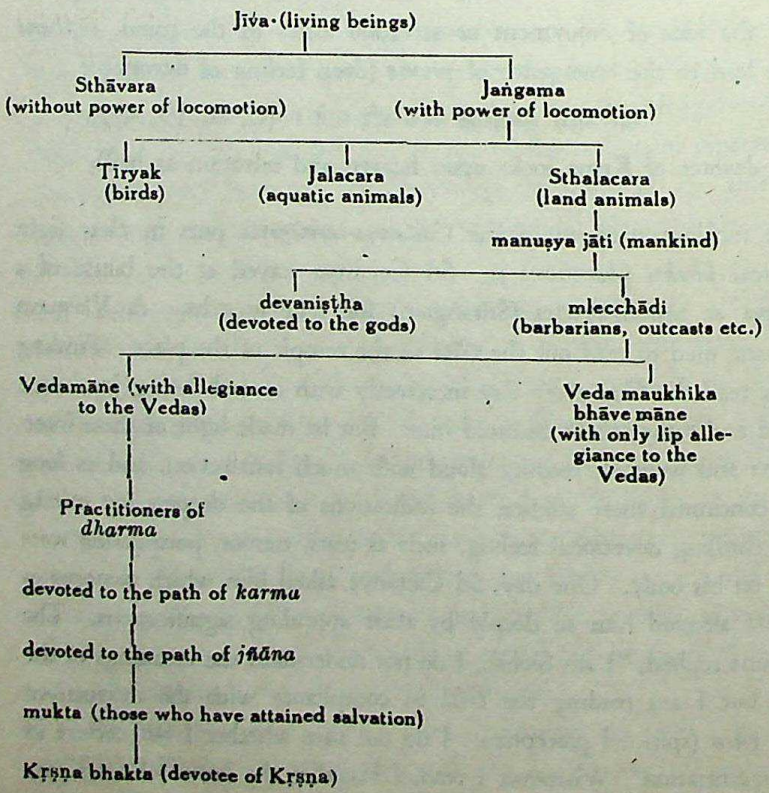
his instructions to him. This produces ecstasy in my heart, and I cannot stop my study." Śrī Caitanya said, "It is you who have acquired the full eligibility to read the *Gītā*."

(*C.*, II, 9, 267, 268)

The real *bhakta* is he who can surrender himself to Śrī Kṛṣṇa fully like the reader of the *Gītā* mentioned above, forgetting everything else. This kind of devotion has no connection with *jñāna-yoga* or *karma-yoga* delineated already.

A summary of what Śrī Caitanya said to Rūpa Gosvāmin in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (*C.*, II, 19, 546-549) indicating how high a position is assigned by him to a devotee in the scheme of creation of this world is given below:—


Jīva (living beings)
Sthāvara (without power of locomotion)
Jaṅgama (with power of locomotion)
Tīryak (birds)
Jalacara (aquatic animals)
Sthalacara (land animals)
manuṣya jāti (mankind)
devaniṣṭha (devoted to the gods)
mlecchādi (barbarians, outcasts etc.)
Vedamāne (with allegiance to the Vedas)
Veda maukhika bhāve māne (with only lip allegiance to the Vedas)
Practitioners of dharma
devoted to the path of karma
devoted to the path of jñāna
mukta (those who have attained salvation)
Kṛṣṇa bhakta (devotee of Kṛṣṇa)

(*C.*, II, 19, 346-54)

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It is difficult to find one *jñānin* in a crore i.e. a large number of *karmins*, one *mukta* (one who has attained salvation) in a crore or large number of *jñānins*, and one *bhakta* devoted to Kṛṣṇa in a crore or a large number of *muktas*.

कृष्णभक्त निष्काम अतएव शान्त (*C.*, II, 19, 548-549)
भुक्ति मुक्ति सिद्धि कामी सकलि अशान्त ॥ (*C.*, II, 19, 549)

[The *bhakta* of Kṛṣṇa is free from desires and so he is *śānta* (with his senses quiescent). Those who seek enjoyment, salvation, or *siddhi* (eight spiritual powers) are all *aśānta* (have non-quiescent senses)].

अन्य वाञ्छा अन्य पूजा छाड़ि ज्ञान कर्म ।
आनुकूल्ये सर्वेन्द्रिय कृष्णानुशीलन ॥
एइ शुद्ध भक्ति इहा हैते प्रेम हय ।
पञ्चरात्रे भागवते एइ लक्षण कय ॥ (*C.*, II, 19, 552)

[Service to Kṛṣṇa with all the senses working in harmony, leaving aside other desires, other worship, and the paths of *jñāna* and *karma*, constitutes pure *bhakti* (devotion), from which emerges *prema* (deep love for Kṛṣṇa) according to the *Pañcarātra* and the *Bhāgavata*].

It is not possible for the limited intellectual powers of a man to get full insight into all the *līlā* (playfulness) manifested through creation, maintenance, and destruction in their countless forms in limitless space and time by One who is the receptacle of an intellect of infinite magnitude. But if efforts be made to apprehend Him through sentiments by communion with Him through the path of devotion (*bhakti*), then the question of comprehension of Him through intellect does not arise. In other words, a direct relation can be established with Him through *bhakti*. This may be explained by the following analogy used by some for the clarification of this point.

The wife of a higher court judge hears much about the deep legal knowledge of her husband, but cannot comprehend him in this aspect of his learning. She however gets him fully through her feeling expressed in devoted service to him, and this satisfies her fully, leaving no desire in her to comprehend him in his deep and wide knowledge of law. Apprehending the *iṣṭa devatā* through sentiments by a *bhakta* is quite analogous to the example given above. 'Belief draws him near, reasoning puts him away.' "विश्वासे पाइये तर्के हय बहुदूर ।" (*C.*, II, 8, 257).

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8. *Degrees of Progress on the Path of Bhakti (Devotion)*

There are milestones of progress on the path of devotion. The degrees of progress are described in a dialogue between Śrī Caitanya and Rai Rāmānanda in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. In reply to a question put to him by Śrī Caitanya, Rāmānanda pointed out ten stages of progress. In regard to four of them, Śrī Caitanya said 'These are peel of the fruit, and not the core, proceed further' (एइ बाह्य आगे कह आर) i.e. 'though they are within the perimeter, still there are higher degrees of devotion which please detail.' In regard to the second three stages, he expressed the view: 'They are acceptable, but proceed further still.' (एहो हय, आगे कह आर) implying that there are other higher degrees of *bhakti* which should be mentioned.

In regard to the third set of three stages, he said in respect of the first two, 'they are superior but proceed further' (एहोत्तम आगे कह आर) and regarding the third he declared it to be 'साध्यावधि' or the 'highest possible limit of devotion.'

I. *First Stage (within but near the Perimeter)*

(*a*) स्वधर्माचरणपूर्वक भक्ति (वर्ण श्रम धर्म) Devotion through the performance of one's duties as dictated by the *varṇa* and *āśrama* to which he belongs.

(*b*) श्रीकृष्णे कर्मार्पण Devotion together with the dedication of all the fruits of his actions to Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

(*c*) स्वधर्मत्यागपूर्वक भक्ति Devotion with inaction in regard to the duties prescribed for him.

(*d*) ज्ञानमिश्रा भक्ति Devotion mixed with progress in the knowledge of the *līlā* of the *iṣṭa-devatā*.

II. *Second Stage (Acceptable)*

(*a*) ज्ञानशून्या भक्ति Devotion dissociated from knowledge of the kind mentioned above.

(*b*) प्रेमभक्ति (शान्त) Devotion (quiescent) based on selfless love without any personal tie with the *iṣṭa-devatā*.

(*c*) दास्य प्रेम Devotion based on selfless love to the *iṣṭa-devatā* involving the personal tie of service.

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III. *Third Stage (Superior)*

(*a*) सख्य प्रेम Devotion based on the tie of friendship.

(*b*) वात्सल्य प्रेम Devotion as between the son and the parents.

(*c*) कान्ता प्रेम वा मधुर रस (sweet sentiment) Devotion as between the wife and the husband, or the lover and the beloved.

(*C.*, II, 8, 186-197)

After delineating the various stages of devotion, Rai Rāmānanda said further that the ways of attaining communion with Śrī Kṛṣṇa are many. The methods by which one chooses to effect the same according to his own inclinations and eligibility are the best for him. But on examination of them from a detached standpoint, they are found to be graded on an ascending scale.

(*C.*, II, 8, 199)

9. *Application of various Sentiments in Bhakti-Sādhana (endeavours for spiritual uplift through devotion)*

The sacred treatises of the Vaiṣṇavas speak of harnessing various sentiments in connection with Kṛṣṇa as the *Iṣṭa-devatā* in endeavours for spiritual uplift on the path of devotion. Even if Kṛṣṇa be looked upon as an enemy and constantly kept in mind for causing him harm, then also a spiritual effect is produced ultimately salutary to the individual indulging in such contemplation, which becomes by its nature deep and constant and so accelerates the attainment of the ultimate spiritual goal.

गोप्यः कामाद् भयात् कंसो द्वेषाच्चैद्यादयो नृपाः ।
सम्बन्धाद् वृष्णयः स्नेहाद् यूयं भक्त्या वयं विभो ॥ (*Bh.*, VII, 1, 30)

[(Nārada said to Yudhiṣṭhira)—The highest spiritual advancement has been attained by the Gopīs through the amorous sentiments, Kaṃsa through fear, Caidya i.e. Śiśupāla and other princes through enmity, the Vṛṣṇis through the various emotions pertaining to their respective relationships with Kṛṣṇa, you (Yudhiṣṭhira) through affection and myself through complete self-dedication].

The preceding śloka of the *Bhāgavata* (VII, 1, 29) cited in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (I, 5, 136) exhorts almost the same idea in a different form:

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कामाद् द्वेषाद्भयात् स्नेहाद् यथा भक्त्येश्वरे मनः ।
आवेश्य तदघं हित्वा बहवस्तद्गतिंगताः (*Bh.*, VII, 1, 29; *C.*, I, 5, 136)

(As many have reached the highest station in spiritual life through the devotional direction of the mental faculties to the service of Īśvara, leading to the extinction of sins, similarly many have done the same through the harnessing of amorous feelings, enmity, fear, and affection in relation to Īśvara).

In none of the major extant religions of the world are found any attempts for utilizing the dynamic forces of the various sentiments, good or evil, for spiritual uplift. The speciality of the Hindu *Śāstras* in this respect lies in the fact that the Hindu thinkers came to realize the effectiveness of the various emotions of the human heart for spiritual *sādhana,* and tried to utilize them by embodying the necessary directions in their recommendations for spiritual guidance of the people. The biographies or auto-biographies of some of the well-known and successful Hindu *sādhakas* (strivers) on some at least of these lines within the last century or so, whose evidence from various considerations may be looked upon as dependable, bear testimony to the correctness of the conclusion of the early Hindu thinkers.

10. *Response from the Iṣṭa-devatā (Object of Devotion)*

The devotees believe that when they surrender themselves to the *Iṣṭa-devatā* completely after effecting a thorough detachment of the mind from worldly desires, and proceed on the lines of spiritual endeavour with the necessary limitations by looking upon the *Iṣṭa-devatā* (here Kṛṣṇa) as father, master, friend, son and so forth, they meet with the responses from the Object of their devotion. This beljef is considered to be based on a foundation of facts furnished by the recorded spiritual experiences of Hindu *sādhakas* ancient and modern. They move forward in the field of their strivings, relying on the following two generalizations:—

(1) If one can offer his deepest and selfless love to the *Iṣṭa-devatā* these offerings do appeal to the heart of the latter, and produce response.

(2) Should the endeavours of the devotee be extremely intense, then the *Iṣṭa-devatā* responds to his appeal in the shape and circumstances which the former prays for. It is not impossible for one, who is the

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creator, preserver and destroyer of the Universe, to assume the desired form in a required setting.

কৃষ্ণের প্রতিজ্ঞা দৃঢ় সর্ব্বকালে আছে।
যে যৈঁছে ভজে কৃষ্ণ তারে ভজে তৈঁছে॥ (*C.*, II, 8, 20)

(Kṛṣṇa has bound himself to this unshakable promise for all time that he would shape his response to the appeal of the devotee in the manner wanted by him).

I am not speaking of the successful devotees of the distant past or mentioned in the *Purāṇas*. In recent times, i.e. within the last hundred or hundred and fifty years, many such devotees (whatever be their methods of *sādhana*) or their *celās* for them have recorded their spiritual experiences. These records may not deserve rejection, while on the other hand, they may be quite dependable as garnering reliable facts. For this reason, even if some allowance be made for exaggeration, interpolations etc., which critical sifters of the evidence embodied in them may think it wise in the interest of truth to make, a large amount of data will, it is believed, be still left behind to make out a case in their favour for acceptance. This will go to corroborate the belief mentioned above that the receipt of a response is possible from the *Iṣṭa-devatā* through the application of real and sincere devotion to Him. The object in confining the limit of available evidence to the chronicling of spiritual experiences of *sādhakas* within the last few decades is to enable the critical mind, desiring to test their truth through any of the means of testing, to do so without much difficulty. If the distance of time be short, the characters of the persons having the experiences, or recording them may be known to many, and again the reputation about their dependability may be further subjected to scrutiny by references to old men who may have heard of them as noted for their probity and integrity as *sādhakas*.

We learn from the biography of Rāmkṛṣṇa Paramahaṃsa of Bengal (which may be taken to be typical of the records mentioned above) that he used to get response from Kālī (his *iṣṭa-devatā*) through his devotion. We come to know of such communions with the *iṣṭa-devatās* also from the biographies etc., of such saints as Rāmprasāda, Kamalākānta, the Brahmacārin of Bāradī, Bholānanda Giri, Vijayakṛṣṇa Gosvāmin, Vāmā Kṣepā, Rāmadāsa, Kāṭhiyā Bābā and his disciple

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Santadāsa Babājï, Gopāler mā (Gopāla's mother) and many others whose names would render the list too long for our purpose here.

11. *Analysis of the Feeling of Devotion (Bhakti-Rasa)*

Bhakti-Rasa, the feeling of devotion, comprises the following principal sentiments viz. *śānta* (quiescent), *dāsya* (servantal), *sakhya* (friendly), *vātsalya* (either parental or filial) and *madhura* (sweet). The devotee proceeds in his task by adopting any one of these sentiments according to his proneness and competency.

(*C.*, II,19, 562)

Rai Rāmānanda in the dialogue already referred to made a comparison between the five principal sentiments and the five *bhūtas* (elements) viz. *kṣiti* (earth), *ap* (water), *tejas* (fire), *marut* (air) and *vyoman* or *ākāśa* (ether). Here the *madhura* sentiment has been pronounced as the highest, and the properties of all the other sentiments have been mentioned as subsumed under this 'sweet' sentiment. Charts are appended for easy comprehension. A complete suppression of thirst (*tṛṣṇā*) for all enjoyments has been shown as the essential common to all the five sentiments.

(*C.*, II, 19, 577)

The Five Bhūtas (Elements) and their properties

(*read from bottom*)

Five Bhūtas

Kṣiti (earth)—(1) sound, (2) touch, (3) sight, (4) taste + (5) smell

Ap (water)— (1) sound, (2) touch, (3) sight + (4) taste

Tejas (fire)—(1) sound, (2) touch + (3) sight

Marut (air)—(1) sound + (2) touch

Vyoman or *Ākāśa*—(1) sound

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The Five Rasas (Sentiments) and their properties

(*read from bottom*)

Five Sentiments

- **Madhura (Sweet)**
  - Parakīyā (Romantic or Extra-marital)... Love: All the properties of *svakīyā* (conjugal love) + complete freedom from restriction + ever newness of feeling + greater thrill
  - Svakīyā (Conjugal or Marital)... Love: (1) SS, (2) service to Kṛṣṇa, (3) freedom from hesitancy in mixing with Kṛṣṇa, (4) high degree of feeling of mine-ness regarding Kṛṣṇa (= vātsalya) + intimate service
- **Vātsalya (Parental or Filial)**: (1) SS, (2) service to Kṛṣṇa, (3) freedom from hesitancy in mixing with Kṛṣṇa (= Sakhya) + (4) high degree of feeling of mine-ness regarding Kṛṣṇa
- **Sakhya (Friendly)**: (1) SS, (2) service to Kṛṣṇa (= Dāsya) + (3) freedom from hesitancy in mixing with Kṛṣṇa. (= Kṛṣṇe asaṅkoca)
- **Dāsya (Serventa)**: (1) SS (= Śānta) + (2) service to Kṛṣṇa as the iṣṭa-devatā (= Kṛṣṇa-sevā)
- **Śānta (Quiescent)**: (1) complete surrender to Kṛṣṇa and complete suppression of thirst for enjoyments (tṛṣṇā-tyāga)

(These two properties have been referred to as *SS* in all the upper ones)

(*C.*, II, 8, 200-201; II, 19, 580)

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Of the sentiments mentioned in the diagrams, the properties of the sentiment at the bottom are lesser in number than those of the sentiment immediately higher, and those higher in the scale have been arranged in the order of the ascending number of properties possessed by them.

(*C.*, II, 8, 200)

The essentials of the various sentiments have been analysed and delineated in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* in the way indicated below. Self-surrender to Kṛṣṇa and the suppression of all worldly desires are qualities common to all devotees. In this way, the pull towards Kṛṣṇa becomes greater and greater till the pull towards the material world is rendered nil, making thus the ultimate communion with the *Iṣṭa-devatā* possible.

Śānta Rasa.—The property of this *rasa* is relinquishment of all worldly desires and concentration of all the feelings and faculties on Kṛṣṇa alone. He does not care to attain salvation or enjoy the pleasures of heaven. Under this *rasa,* no personal relationship is mentally established between Kṛṣṇa and the devotees. For this reason, it has been described as 'devoid of any smell of mine-ness.' The feeling of mine-ness cannot arise unless the devotee feels (as the case may be) that Kṛṣṇa is 'the master, the friend, the son, or the husband or lover.' The absence of any trace of such a feeling cannot bring in any personal tie. The devotee only feels that Kṛṣṇa is in essence Svarūpa Brahman or the embodiment of consciousness, infinite powers, and bliss.

Dāsya Rasa.—The feeling of personal attachment is noticed in this sentiment. The mental attitude of the devotee is that Kṛṣṇa is his master and he is His servant. Hence, the respectful distance between them is always present in his mind. The feeling of attachment to the master is natural and intense, but the hesitation born of respect necessarily enters into his mental attitude towards Him. The only object that animates the servant is contribution to the comforts and happiness of Kṛṣṇa. The *rasa* includes all the elements of *śānta* with the addition of *Kṛṣṇa-sevā* (service to Kṛṣṇa) as its own new element.

Sakhya Rasa.—The feeling of attachment becomes deeper in this sentiment. The devotee looks upon Kṛṣṇa as his comrade and maintains that attitude towards Him. The hesitancy or the feeling of distance of

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Dāsya is non-existent in this sentiment. Hence, the devotee behaves towards Kṛṣṇa as his equal and playmate, and while at times, he serves Kṛṣṇa, at other times, he does not hesitate to be served by his ministrations. This *rasa* comprises not only the elements of *śānta* and *dāsya* but also the one peculiar to itself viz. absence of hesitancy and absence of feeling of distance.

Vātsalya Rasa.—The feeling of attachment to Kṛṣṇa mounts up further in depth in this *rasa*. He becomes the devotee's own in a much greater degree than in the preceding sentiments. As the devotee may look upon Kṛṣṇa as his son, consoling and nursing, scolding and even beating come within the ambit of his privileges. The maintainer of the universe is then regarded as the maintained like an ordinary human boy. This *rasa* thus contains within itself the ingredients of the three sentiments *śānta, dāsya* and *sakhya,* while adding another as specially its own viz. excess of the feeling of mine-ness.

Madhura Rasa.—The greatest depth of emotion is reached in this 'sweet sentiment.' An intimate personal tie is established between Kṛṣṇa and the devotee in this mental attitude. The question of distance or hesitation has no place in this sentiment, and while it incorporates in itself all the properties of *śānta, dāsya, sakhya* and *vātsalya,* it adds one as its own viz. intimate personal service to Kṛṣṇa for contributing to His bliss through such ministrations.

(*C.*, II, 19, 576 580)

The *sādhana* on the basis of each of the above five sentiments develops by entertaining itself with the relevant portion of the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa at Vraja as its principal prop with the whole *Vrajalīlā* (the life and activities of Kṛṣṇa) as depicted in the *Bhāgavata* and other treatises relating to *bhakti* as the mental background and the subject-matter of meditation. The reason lies in the fact that in the *Bhāgavata,* containing as it does Kṛṣṇa's detailed life at Vraja in which each of the various sentiments has found scope for its exercise through the activities of Kṛṣṇa himself, the whole picture as it were provides a trellis, on which each creeper of devotion can grow and expand with its ramifications into the fullest maturity.

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12. *Details about the Application of the various Sentiments* (*Rasas*) *in the Efforts on the Path of Bhakti* (*Devotion*)

The particular sentiment which a devotee should adopt as the means of his *sādhana* on the path of devotion on which he wants to enter depends upon the degree of his proneness towards one or other of the sentiments, and also upon the competency of his mental and physical make-up to bear the impacts and consequences of the mental detachment, *japa* (repetition of the name of Kṛṣṇa and the *mantra* learnt from the spiritual preceptor) and implementation of other such details of injunctions positive and negative to be followed by him under proper guidance. Devotees mentioned in the *Bhāgavata* or elsewhere as well-known in connection with the application of the various sentiments on the path of devotion are:—

Śanta.—Kavi, Antarīkṣa etc. (nine Yogendras) mentioned in the 11th Book of the *Bhāgavata*, Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana and Sanatkumāra, called the four sons of Brahman (Brahmā, the creator) born of his mind (*mānasaputra*).

Dāsya.—Hanumān, Tulasīdāsa etc.

Sakhya.—Śrīdāma, Sudāma, Dāma, Vasudāma etc. of Vṛndāvana and Bhīma, Arjuna, Sudāmā etc. of other places.

Vātsalya.—Kṛṣṇa's parents and other superiors at Vṛndāvana.

Madhura.—The Gopīs of Vraja occupy a superior position to that of the mahiṣīs (wives) of Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā and the Lakṣmīs (wives of Nārāyaṇa) elsewhere.

(*C*., II, 19, 570)

It is stated in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* that, considering from a detached standpoint, the *madhura* or the *śṛṅgāra rasa* has to be pronounced the sweetest.

तटस्थ हइया मने विचार यदि करि ।
सब रस हैते शृङ्गारे अधिक माधुरी ॥ (*C*., I, 4, 75)

In this *rasa* again, a higher place has been assigned to *parakīyā* (extra-marital) love at Vraja than *svakīyā* (marital) at Dvārakā or elsewhere, because of the emergence of the greatest bliss in the former.

1 For other instances, see *C*., II, 2, 64.

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अतएव मधुर रस कहि तार नाम ।
स्वकीया परकोया भावे द्विविध संस्थान ।
परकीयाभावे अति रसेर उल्लास ।
व्रज विना इहार अन्यत्र नाहि वास ॥ (*C.*, I, 4, 76)

13. *The Place of Madhura Rasa (sweet sentiment) in ancient Sanskrit Literature*

The *madhura rasa* has been rated as the highest in the ancient Sanskrit literature relating to love generally, and very prominently in the branch of the literature dealing with the *rasas* (sentiments). Some passages are given below for clarification:

(1) The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* recognizes the dominant influence of the sweet sentiment that arises between man and woman. It has been stated that just as the world vanishes from the consciousness of the man in the embrace of his beloved, so the individual soul in its merger in the Universal Soul becomes oblivious of the existence of the material universe.

तद्यथा प्रियया स्त्रिया सम्परिष्वक्तो न बाह्यं किञ्चन वेद नान्तरम् । एवं पुरुषः प्राज्ञेनात्मना सम्परिष्वक्तो न बाह्यं किञ्चन वेद नान्तरम् ।(*Bu*, IV, 3, 21)

(2) The *Agni Purāṇa* (ch. 339, *śl.* 11) speaks of the *śṛṅgāra rasa* (sweet sentiment) as capable of making the universe permeated by sweetness.

(3) Bharata (2nd century A.C.) the author of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (24, 199) expresses the view that 'the thrill in *Parakīyā* love is very great because it is prohibited and the way of this kind of love is far from smooth.'

(4) It is written by way of comment on a passage by Abhinava Gupta (10th century A.C.) in his commentary on the *Nāṭya-śāstra* mentioned above that all the animals feel the prick of love whose sway is very widespread. For this reason, it can elicit a response in the heart of every living being.

(G.O.S. ed., p. 269).

(5) Rudrabhaṭṭa (some time between 9th and 11th c.) writes in his *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* (I, 20) that '*madhura rasa* is the topmost of all *rasas*.'

(6) Bhojadeva (11th c.) the author of the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* is frankly emphatic in his statement that '*Śṛṅgāra rasa* alone is the *rasa* worthy of the name, because it is this sentiment that is the source of real joy.'

Yadugiri's Ed., Preface, p. 6

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(7) The well-known Jaina author Hemacandra (12th century A.C.) supports Bharata's opinion mentioned above in his work on rhetoric *Kāvyānuśāsana* regarding the superiority of the *parakīyā rasa* (R. C. Parikh's ed., II, 3, 108).

(8) According to Bhānudatta, the author of the *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* (13th century A.C.) the highest place of honour is assigned among all the *rasas* to the *Śṛṅgāra* sentiment. (Benares ed., p. 21).

14. *Parakīyā Love within Madhura Rasa*

The analysis of the various sentiments, recommended for utilization by the *sādhakas* on the path of *bhakti* (devotion) by the authors of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstras has, as shown in the previous sections, yielded the conclusion, which also finds support in the works of authors dealing with poetics (*rasa-śāstra-kāras*), that the *parakīyā* love occupies the highest place among the *rasas*, because it is the sweetest. The devotees recognize the truth of the statement, and some among them adopt it as the prop in their spiritual efforts according to their capacity and proclivities under the guidance of their spiritual preceptors. The two authoritative treatises relating to the analysis of devotion and the path of devotion are the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (Ocean of the Nectar of Bhakti-Rasa) and the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* [Resplendent Sapphire (Kṛṣṇa)] by Rūpa Gosvāmin. The latter deals, in much greater detail than the other, with the feeling of love as adopted by the Bhaktas for *sādhana*.[2] The *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha* (Kaustubha Gem of Rhetoric), though a work on rhetoric, contains many illustrations based on several incidents borrowed from the *madhura līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The *Gopāla-campū* (by Jīva), *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū* (by Kavi Karṇapūra), *Govinda-līlāmṛta* (by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja), *Vidagdha-mādhava* and *Lalita-mādhava* (both by Rūpa) and several other works may be named, from which descriptions of portions or whole of the *līlā* of love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, with or without amplifications of the basis in the *Bhāgavata*, can be perused.

2 The detailed summary of the two extensive treatises given by my learned friend Dr. Sushil Kumar De in his articles in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1932), pp. 643-688 entitled 'The Bhakti-Rasa-Śāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism' has made it specially advantageous for all enquirers to get a comprehensive picture of the topics comprised in the Bhakti-Rasa.

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It has been mentioned above that the Vaiṣṇava Śāstras speak of the application of many of the emotions of the human heart to the *sādhana* of devotion to Kṛṣṇa. They thought that if the sentiments other than *parakīyā* can be harnessed for the purpose of devotional practices, then why the *parakīyā rasa* itself could not lay claim to the privilege of being so utilized, specially in view of the fact that as a *rasa*, it has been so highly spoken of as a thriller with a great dynamic force by so many authoritative writers of the *rasa-śāstras* giving it the highest place among the sentiments. As the Vaiṣṇava thinkers could not logically reject the claim of this *rasa* to such utilization, we find its application in the *Bhāgavata* in the episodes detailed in it though only the sentiment is mentioned and not Rādhā by name. The dynamism of romance, that finds full play in this sentiment as a tie of attraction between the *parakīyā* woman (standing for the devotee) and Kṛṣṇa, the object of her love, is found in none other, because of the absence of the marital restrictions, the presence of secrecy and perpetual newness and the constant necessity for the removal of obstacles, which make the life of the lovers a stream of joyous thrill.

The life of Bilvamaṅgala is remarkable as constituting the best illustration of the deep intensity of *parakīyā rasa* and its great strength of attraction. In Southern India lived a Brāhmaṇa youth called Bilvamaṅgala in a house on the river Kṛṣṇa-Veṇvā. He was in deep love with a *parakīyā* (belonging to another socially) woman named Cintāmaṇi on the other side of the river. He could not allow a day pass without seeing her. It was arranged that on the day of the anniversary of his father's *śrādh* ceremony, he would not come to her. But on the night of the ceremony, after the termination of the rituals and the attendant functions, he could not effectively control his desire to meet Cintāmaṇi. An extremely inclement weather set in, and storm with rain was raging with great force. But setting at naught all these obstacles, he jumped into the river. A corpse drifting along was mistaken by him for a log of wood, and used as a float for helping him in crossing the stream. He reached the other bank, and on coming to the front of the house saw the door closed. But he noticed what looked like a rope hanging from the front wall, caught hold of it and jumped into the court-yard of the house. It was then dead of night. The noise roused Cintāmaṇi from sleep. Bilvamaṅgala's clothing was wet, and his body was emitting a foul smell. She asked how he could come to the house in the midst of such a heavy rain and storm. On hearing the details she wanted to see the piece of wood and the rope.

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On viewing them, they were found to be a corpse and a serpent. At this, Cintāmaṇī told him, 'If you could have directed the deep love for me towards the real Cintāmaṇī,[1] you could have attained today the highest degree of success in spiritual advancement.' Bilavamaṅgala was touched to the quick on finding that the intense attachment that had brought him to Cintāmaṇi that night in spite of the most inclement weather did not elicit a corresponding response in her heart. When in addition he heard the unsympathetic words falling from her lips, instead of words of sympathy and welcome, his remorseful and emotional mind turned away altogether from the ties of the world. He immediately took to the road. After trudging a long way, he met Somagiri in his hermitage on the river Narmadā and accepted him as his *guru*. After spending some time there for spiritual initiation and discipline, and for learning details about the practice of devotion and meditation, he started for Vṛndāvana. He resolved to spend the rest of his life in the practice of devotion to Kṛṣṇa as a Vaiṣṇava devotee. After a few days spent on the way, he happened to notice a beautiful woman in a village on the wayside, walking back to her home after finishing her evening ablution in a pond, and filling her pitcher with water. Her beauty infatuated Bilvamaṅgala. He followed her to her dwelling for taking shelter for the night as the guest of her husband, but as soon as he regained the natural state of his mind, his shame and compunction knew no bounds for the momentary infatuation that had blinded his judgment. A short while ago, he had renounced Cintāmaṇi inspite of her dominance over his heart, and so he believed that his senses would not be able to tempt him again. But when he found that the reverse took place, he requested the lady to give him two hair-pins, with which he blinded himself by piercing his two eyes. After this, he did not linger at the place for a moment, but rushed outside in spite of the entreaties of the husband, and made for Vṛndāvana. In response to the severe self-discipline undergone by him, his *Iṣṭa-devatā* Śrī Kṛṣṇa came to him in the guise of a boy to help him along the road to his destination. Afterwards, he became known as *Līlā-śūka* [sweet repeater (like a parrot) of the tales (*līlā*) of Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana] and rose to the highest rung of spiritual advancement. He spent his life to its last breath in meditating on Kṛṣṇa, towards whom he directed his whole heart with all its passions in the pro-

3 *Cintāmaṇi* is a variant of Kṛṣṇa's name.

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cess of their sublimation on the path of *bhakti* (devotion). By the grace of the *Iṣṭa-devatā,* he regained his eye-sight. He could thus write an elaborate poem called *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* (Nectar for the Ear relating to Kṛṣṇa-līlā) on Kṛṣṇa as an expression of his deep love for Him. The opening verses of this poem, while eulogizing Kṛṣṇa, contain words of double import, and praise both Cintāmaṇi and Somagiri as his *guru*:—

चिन्तामणिर्जयतु सोमगिरिर्गुरुर्मे शिक्षागुरुश्च भगवान् शिखिपिच्छमौलिः ।

15. *Gopī Bhāva (Sentiment symbolized in Gopīs)*

The Gopīs of Vraja constitute the best instance of *parakīyā* love towards Kṛṣṇa. A bright picture of the nature of the love of Gopīs towards Kṛṣṇa is found in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta.* It is also found in the *rasa-śāstras* written by Vaiṣṇava devotees. The gradual increase in the intensity of this love reaches ultimately the final stage called *rūḍha mahābhāva.*

गोपीगणेर प्रेम रूढ़ महाभाव नाम ।
विशुद्ध निर्मल प्रेम कभु नहे काम ॥ (*C.*, I, 4, 100)

[The *prema* of the gopīs is called *rūḍha mahābhāva.* It is pure because it is free from the impurities of selfishness. It can never be styled *Kāma* (gross selfish passion)].

It is now necessary to say a few words about *bhakti* in order to explain the feelings that compose it from its lowest to the highest stages.

Prema arises from *śuddha Bhakti* (devotion free from any element of selfish desire). (*C.*, II, 19, 552)

According to the *Bhāgavata,* the characteristics of *śuddha bhakti* (pure devotion) consist in following the path of devotion with single-mindedness by relinquishing the paths of *jñāna* (knowledge) and *karma* (actions) and applying oneself to the service of Kṛṣṇa with the control and direction of the vitality of all his senses towards such service without any selfishness (*niḥsvārtha*) and to the exclusion of all desires pertaining to the flesh (*niṣkāma*). Any desire for either *mukti* or enjoyment is totally absent in the mind of this devotee. (*C.*, II, 19, 552)

Rati arises from *sādhana bhakti.* When it becomes deeper, it develops into *prema* and gradually with further rises in intensity reaches in succession the stages of *rāga, anurāga, bhāva,* and *mahābhāva.* Each of the terms used here has a distinct connotation as under:—

Sneha.—Where *prema* grows strong enough to *melt* the mind, it is

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called *sneha* [lit. ghee. (clarified butter) or oil]. In it, the devotee cannot brook Kṛṣṇa's absence from his sight for a moment.

Māna.—When *sneha* attains greater condensation, it prompts the devotee to disguise, for various reasons, the sweetness of his sentiment, and assumes deviousness. This stage is called *māna.*

Praṇaya.—On further condensation of the above sentiment, when it brings about the unification of the souls of the lover and the beloved, it is styled *praṇaya.*

Rāga.—When *praṇaya* reaches further density, it leads the devotee to undergo intense pain for the sake of the object of love and feel that as happiness. This mental state is called *rāga.*

Anurāga.—This stage is reached, when the preceding feeling (*rāga*) attains still greater consistence, resulting in its appearance in new forms, and making the participants in love feel the sweet presence of each other in newer and newer colours and settings.

Bhāva.—When *anurāga,* in its flood tide, oversteps its bounds, and flows in a strong current through the heart of the devotee, it is termed *bhāva.*

Mahābhāva.—The higher stage next to *bhāva* is called *mahābhāva.* It is rarely reached in the marital love of the consorts of *Kṛṣṇa* at Dvārakā. It is attainable practically by the *gopīs* alone at Vraja. (*C.*, II, 19, 555, 556; II, 23, 735, 736; *UN.*, 694, 705, 716, 725, 736, 753, 762, 763).

Śānta, Dāsya, Sakhya, Vātsalya, Madhura are the five principal sentiments. The gradations of *rati* on the ascending scale with the name of each gradation have been given above. The appended chart shows how far each of the five principal sentiments can rise in the gradations.

(*read from bottom*)

(5) Madhura	...	...	Mahābhāva (9)
			Bhāva (8)
(4) Vātsalya	...	...	Anurāga (7)
(3) Sakhya	...	...	Rāga (6)
			Praṇaya (5)
(2) Dāsya	...	...	Mana (4)
			Sneha (3)
			Prema (2)
(1) Śānta	...	...	Rati (1)

(*C.*, II, 23, 736; II, 24, 766)

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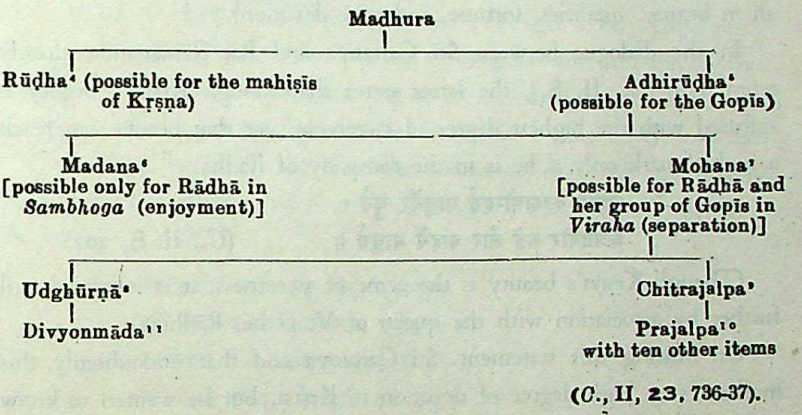
The *madhura rasa* mentioned above has again been divided into various sub-clauses. On this point, there is some difference between the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* together with those writers who have followed the latter treatise. The appended chart is based on the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta:*


Madhura
Rūḍha[4] (possible for the mahiṣīs of Kṛṣṇa)
Adhirūḍha[5] (possible for the Gopīs)
Madana[6] [possible only for Rādhā in *Sambhoga* (enjoyment)]
Mohana[7] [possible for Rādhā and her group of Gopīs in *Viraha* (separation)]
Udghūrṇā[8]
Divyonmāda[11]
Chitrajalpa[9]
Prajalpa[10] with ten other items

(*C.*, II, 23, 736-37).

16. *Rādhā's Prema (Love)*

Rādhā occupies the topmost place among the Gopīs. Her love for Kṛṣṇa has no parallel. The *parakīyā* love for *Kṛṣṇa* is shared by all the *Gopīs*, but its culmination is in Rādhā.

व्रजवधूगणेर एइ भाव निरवधि ।
तार मध्ये श्रीराधार भावेर अवधि ॥
प्रौढ़ निर्मल भाव प्रेम सर्वोत्तम ।
कृष्णेर माधुरी आस्वादनेर कारण ॥ (*C.*, I, 4, 76)

(This sentiment is common to all the Gopīs of Vraja. Among them,

4. In Rūḍha appear eight *sāttvika bhāvas* such as stiffness of the body, perspiration etc., and the *anubhāvas* expressing themselves in such actions as rolling on the ground etc.

5. In it, the *anubhāvas* express themselves brighter and rise to a higher height.

6. Excess of joy in enjoyment or the meeting between the lover and the beloved. It is accompanied with the expressions of many unruly feelings.

7. In it, the eight *sāttvika bhāvas* express themselves simultaneously.

8. Various physical expressions in an uncontrollable condition in separation

9. Expressions of anger at the sight of the friends of the person loved most

10. Varieties of *Citrajalpa*.

11. When *Mohana-bhāva* becomes inexpressible, it gives rise to various bewilderments.

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it reaches the highest limit in Śrī Rādhikā. Her sentiment is the ripest, purest, and best of all, for tasting the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa's love).

सेइ गोपीगण मध्ये उत्तमा राधिका ।
रूपे गुणे सौभाग्ये प्रेमे सर्वाधिका ॥ (*C.*, I, 4, 116)

(Rādhikā is the highest among those Gopīs. She is superior to them all in beauty, qualities, fortune, and pure devotion).

In the dialogue between Śrī Caitanya and Rai Rāmānanda already referred to (*C.*, II, 8,), the latter states that though Kṛṣṇa's beauty is suffused with the highest degree of sweetness, yet that beauty can reach a higher mark only if he is in the company of Rādhā.

यद्यपि कृष्णसौन्दर्य माधुर्येर धुर्य ।
व्रजदेवीर सङ्गे ताँर बाढ़ये माधुर्य ॥ (*C.*, II, 8, 202)

(Though Kṛṣṇa's beauty is the acme of sweetness, it is increased still further by association with the queen of Vraja i.e. Rādhikā).

On hearing this statement, Śrī Caitanya said that undoubtedly this marks a very high degree of devotion to Kṛṣṇa, but he wanted to know if there is any other kind of love, which is yet higher. In reply, Rāmānanda expressed the firm opinion that no such love is in existence.

इहार मध्ये राधार प्रेम साध्य शिरोमणि ।
याहार महिमा सर्वशास्त्रे ते वाखानि ॥ (*C.*, II, 8, 203)

(In it, Śrī Rādhā's love for Kṛṣṇa is the crowning gem of the object of *sādhana*, which has been eulogized in all Śāstras).

Śrī Caitanya said to Rāmānanda, "Can you mention an instance, in which Kṛṣṇa left other Gopīs for the company of Śrī Rādhīkā, or in other words, the attraction of her love was so strong that other Gopīs could not by their power of attraction pin him down to themselves?" Rāmānanda's reply was, "I am giving such an instance. Śrī Kṛṣṇa feels so much for Śrī Rādhā that during *rāsa-līlā*, (community dancing), he even burst into tears when search for Śrī Rādhā who had left the place proved fruitless. The company of the rest of the Gopīs in the place for dancing, though their number was very large, could not give him the joy for which he yearned so much. Śrī Kṛṣṇa, through his supernatural power of self-multiplication, appeared by the side of each of the numerous Gopīs in the dance. Śrī Rādhā took it to heart, because Śrī Kṛṣṇa was found to be behaving towards the general run of Gopīs just in the same way as to herself. At this sight, the feeling arose in her mind that as Śrī Kṛṣṇa did not make any distinction in his treatment of her and the other Gpīs, it was better to

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leave the spot. So she went away from the dancing circle, leaving Śrī Kṛṣṇa extremely agitated for her absence. He had felt a great desire for the dancing in combination, but Śrī Rādhā was the very centre of the function which was going to be a failure without her. He left the company of the dancing Gopīs in search for her, but as his attempt to find her out failed, he was overwhelmed with dejection. Though a very large number of Gopīs was engaged in ministering to his pleasures, still the absence of Śrī Rādhā made an unbridgeable gap in the full complement of his joy. This proves the supreme position of Śrī Rādhikā." (*C.*, II, 8, 204-206)

It has been stated in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* that the strength of Rādhā's love is so strong that it exerts on Kṛṣṇa a constant overwhelming influence.

कृष्ण कहें आमि हइ रसेर निधान ॥
पूर्णानन्दमय आमि चिन्मय पूर्णतत्त्व ।
राधिकार प्रेमे आमाय कराय उन्मत्त ॥
ना जानि राधा प्रेमे आछे कत बल ।
ये बले आमारे करे सर्वदा विह्वल ॥ (*C.*, I, 4, 91)

(Kṛṣṇa says that he is the source of all *rasas*. Though I am consciousness itself, the sum-total of all the cosmic principles and imbued with the fullest bliss, yet Rādhikā's love makes me mad with joy and craving for same. I do not know how much of potency is hidden in her devotion to me, as it overwhelms me constantly).

The joy that Rādhā enjoys through her love for me is a million times greater than that enjoyed by me through my love for her.

निज प्रेमास्वादे मोर हय ये आह्लाद ।
ताहा हैते कोटिगुण राधा प्रेमास्वाद ॥ (*C.*, I, 4, 92)

Śrī Kṛṣṇa says further—

आमि यैछे परस्पर विरुद्ध धर्माश्रय ।
राधा प्रेम तैछे सदा विरुद्ध धर्ममय ॥ (*C.*, I, 4, 92)

(Just as I am the meeting place of conflicting qualities, similarly Rādhā's love is always full of contradictories).

Many contradictory qualities are found in me. Though I pervade the universe, yet I am found in a limited human form lying in my mother's lap; though I am self-satisfied and above all wants, yet I have come down to Vraja to satisfy my craving for the bliss derived from my association with the Gopīs, and so forth. In other words, one who is above wants has felt the want still, and is seeking its fulfilment.

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In a similar way, in Rādhā we find the operation of contradictory qualities. For instance, Rādhā's love is as extensive as the universe, leaving no space for further expansion, but still it is expanding every moment. Her love is very weighty, but still she makes light of it by never speaking highly of its weightiness. There is nothing more straight like her love, and yet in regard to Kṛṣṇa, its operation is not straightforward. But this want of straightness does not diminish the purity of her love, just as the curvature of the waves in the ocean affects only its surface and not its whole structure. (*C.*, I, 4, 92, 93)

The two participants in the unparalleled love described above are Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. As the lover, Kṛṣṇa has enjoyed the pleasure afforded by Rādhā's love for him, but he could not enjoy the million times greater pleasure that the beloved Rādhā feels in association with him. Kṛṣṇa entertains a keen desire to taste the kind of deep pleasure derived by Rādhā, but in spite of many efforts, he cannot find out the means of realizing the same. It struck him that if at any time, he can occupy Rādhā's position, it will then be possible for him to fulfil the desire. The more he thought over the matter, the greater was the keenness of his hankering for personally gauging Rādhā's deep and unlimited joy. Moreover,

दर्पणाद्ये देखि यदि आपन माधुरी ।
आखादिते हय लोभ आखादिते नारि ॥
विचार करिये यदि आखाद उपाय ।
राधिका स्वरूप हैते तवे मन धाय ॥ (*C.*, I, 4, 95)]

[When I (Kṛṣṇa) find my own beauty on mirror, or such other reflecting surfaces, I feel tempted to enjoy it but cannot do so. If I explore the means by which this can be effected, I feel the impulse to become Rādhā herself].

(*C.*, I, 4, 95)

17. *Kṛṣṇa's Personality*

In the reply given by Rai Rāmānanda to Śrī Caitanya's question regarding the nature of Kṛṣṇa's personality, we find references to Kṛṣṇa as the supreme Īśvara, Bhagavān himself, Avatārin (maker of avatāras), and the First Cause of all things. He is the son of the chief of Vraja, and the source of countless worlds, *avatāras*, and *vaikuṇṭhas* (abodes of Nārāyaṇa). He is *sat* (existence), *cit*, (consciousness), and *ānanda* (bliss), and the receptacle of valued qualities, powers, and bliss.

(*C.*, II, 8, 208)

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But a *bhakta* cannot feel happy with the mere knowledge that the object of his devotion possesses infinite qualities and powers. For this reason, the devotee wants to commune with him as Bliss itself. He is the mine of beauty. The venue of all his blissful and beautiful *līlā* is Vṛndāvana. There he is *navīna* Madana i.e. Cupid in a new form. Just as this god conquers the heart of man to implant passions under his dominance, so Kṛṣṇa as a Cupid assuming a human form beyond the sway of the phenomenal forces (*aprākṛta*) bends the mind of every resident of Vṛndāvana towards himself. *Aprākṛta* also hints at the purity of the feelings roused by him, different as he is from the *prākṛta* (commonly known) Madana (Cupid).

As he is the source of limitless beauty, provision has been made in the Vaiṣṇava Śāstras to meditate on him, with *kāmavīja* and *kāma-gāyatrī* (i.e. the *vīja* or short *mantra* with abbreviated combinations of letters of the alphabet forming part of same, and containing reference to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa combined; while the *kāma-gāyatrī* is a prayer like the usual *gāyatrī* for repetition addressed to the Sun as the symbol of Brahman in connection with the daily *sandhyā* prayers, and is related to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa combined).

There are no living beings with or without power of locomotion, and male or female who do not feel the attraction of the supreme Kṛṣṇa. He is called Manmatha-manmatha (or Manmatha-madana) i.e. the infatuator of Cupid himself. Even the god of love and beauty is defeated by Kṛṣṇa on his own ground and feels overwhelmed by His charm.

वृन्दावने अप्राकृत नवीन मदन ।
'काम गायत्री' 'काम बीजे' यार उपासन ॥
पुरुष योषित् किवा स्थावर जङ्गम ।
सर्वचित्ताकर्षक साक्षात् मन्मथ-मदन ॥ (*C.*, II, 8, 208, 209)

The *bhakta* can attain communion with the Iṣṭa-devatā as the ultimate result of his efforts through meditating on Him in the prescribed way either in His awful glory and power, or in the midst of beauty of his person and surroundings denuded of all awful features. In the passages quoted above, the devotee has looked at Kṛṣṇa from these two angles. It may be the aim of a *Bhakta* to serve Kṛṣṇa through the *madhura rasa* (sweet sentiment). It is so full of charm that avatāras, goddesses, and even Kṛṣṇa himself are held spell-bound by the sweetness emanating from this line of *bhakti-sādhana*.

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शृङ्गाररसराजमय मूर्तिवर ।
अतएव आत्मपर्यन्त सर्वचित्तहर ॥
लक्ष्मीकान्त आदि अवतारेर हरे मन ।
लक्ष्मी आदि नारीगणेर करे आकर्षण ॥ (*C.*, II, 8, 212-214)

He is the perfect embodiment of the sweet sentiment which is the prince of all *rasas* (*śṛṅgāra-rasa-rāja*) and can enchant all including Kṛṣṇa himself. It irresistibly spreads its sway over *avatāras* like *Lakṣmīkānta* (Lord of Lakṣmī) and attracts goddesses like Lakṣmī.

(*C.*, II, 8, 212-214)

Śrī Kṛṣṇa's charm is so great that he himself feels attracted to embrace his own image.

आपन माधुर्य हरे आपनार मन ।
आपने आपना चाहे करिते आलिङ्गन ॥ (*C.*, II, 8, 215)

18. *Ideology behind Rādhā*

According to the *Caityanya-caritāmṛta* (I, 4, 79) Rādhā is the image of Kṛṣṇa's love, and is called his *Hlādinī Śakti* i.e. an emanation of a force from him for contributing to his bliss. The gist of what Rai Rāmānanda said to Śrī Caitanya regarding the ideology behind Rādhā is that Śrī Kṛṣṇa possesses limitless powers. The three principal among them are—*Cit-śakti* (Antaraṅga), *Māyā-śakti* (Bahiraṅga), and *Jīvaśakti* (Taṭastha); i.e. Internal, External, and Mental respectively. Of these, the first (i.e. Antaraṅga) occupies the highest place. Kṛṣṇa is made up of *sat, cit,* and *ānanda* as stated previously. There are three powers corresponding to those three components constituting his *svarūpa śakti*. The three powers that emanate from these three components are *sandhinī* (power of creating situation), *saṃvit* (power of consciousness), and *hlādinī* (power of inducing joyful excitement). Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the embodiment of bliss, enjoys it through Rādhā.

(*C.*, II, 8, 215, 216)

कृष्णके आह्लादे ताते नाम ह्लादिनी ।
सेइ शक्तिद्वारे सुख आस्वादे आपनि ॥
सुखरूप कृष्ण करे सुख आस्वादन ।
भक्तगणे सुख दिते ह्लादिनी कारण ॥
ह्लादिनीर सार अंश तार प्रेम नाम ।
आनन्द चिन्मय रस प्रेमेर आख्यान ॥
प्रेमेर परम सार महाभाव जानि ।
सेइ महाभावरूपा राधा ठाकुराणी ॥ (*C.*, II, 8, 216; I, 4, 79-82)

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The power is called *hlādinī* (gladdener), because it gladdens Kṛṣṇa, who himself tastes bliss through this emanation of his. Hence, it may be said that the Bliss Incarnate tastes bliss in this way. The *hlādinī* is the remote cause for bringing bliss to the devotees. The essence of *hlādinī* is *prema* (pure love). It is also called *ānanda-cinmaya rasa* i.e. sentiment made up of consciousness and bliss. The cream of *prema* is *mahābhāva* (the highest stage attainable by a devotee). The revered Ṭhākurānī Rādhā is the very image of *mahābhāva* in flesh and blood.

(*C.*, II, 8, 216, I, 4, 79-82)

19. *Rādhā as exemplary Partner in Love*

Rādhā has been described by Rai Rāmānanda in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* as the combination of beauty, merits, luck etc. Her bright complexion, smiling face, and soft qualities have endued her with exquisite beauty. In addition to her physical beauty, her mental beauty has no parallel. Her love for Śrī Kṛṣṇa develops to so high a height as *divyonmāda,* which is beyond the reach of every other Gopī. Śrī Kṛṣṇa's love for her, on the other hand, has conferred upon her the highest luck. She is permeated with Kṛṣṇa, so to speak.

It is nothing strange that she should be envied for her good fortune by Satyabhāmā (wife of Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā), revered as the teacher of fine arts, dancing etc., to the young girls of Vraja, and emulated for her charm by Lakṣmī (the consort of Nārāyaṇa) and Pārvatī (the consort of Śiva); while even Arundhatī, distinguished for her constancy as the wife of the sage Vaśiṣṭha, hankers for the depth of Rādhā's self-surrender to Kṛṣṇa, who himself cannot ken the limits of the immense fund of her good qualities.

20. *Ideal Companionship (Vilāsa-tattva) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa*

The beauty of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, which forms the object of meditation to a Vaiṣṇava devotee, and has been described by Rai Rāmānanda as mentioned already, is thus delineated in the ślokas of *Caitanya-caritāmṛta.*

राय कहे कृष्ण हये धीर ललित ।
निरन्तर काम क्रीड़ा याँहार चरित ॥
राति दिन कुञ्ज क्रीड़ा करे राधा सङ्गे ।
कैशोर वयस सफल कैल क्रीड़ारङ्गे ॥ (*C.*, II, 8, 225)

Rai says that Kṛṣṇa as a lover is classed as *dhīra-lalita,*[12] who by nature

12 The word means untiring as a lover. Vide *UN.* Nāyaka-bhedaḥ, śl. 24, p. 37.

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does not get fatigued in love-making. He is engaged in sports in groves day and night with Rādhā, making his tender youth fruitful in such sports and amusements. The conception of the continuous nature of Kṛṣṇa's *līlā* in groves at Vṛndāvana is in line with the perpetual character of all his other acts pertaining to the *līlā* at Vraja similar to the circle of fire created by the flame of a torch turned circularly with great rapidity. The various portions of the *līlā* appear to be continuous, because they are occurring simultaneously or in succession on numberless worlds (*lokas* in the limitless stellar space) where Kṛṣṇa is believed to be appearing for fulfilling his mission of moral uplift and purification of the societies of beings living there.

The term *Dhīralalita* mentioned above in respect of Śrī Kṛṣṇa implies that he is endowed with all the lover's qualities in the fullest degree. He is in the first flash of youth, proficient in the art of love in its various details, and fond of jest and humour. His attachment to Rādhā, who is specially attractive to him is very deep. It is in accord with these aspects of beauty and attractions of Kṛṣṇa that he should be meditated on by devotees with *kāma-vīja*, and *kāma-gāyatrī* i.e. short mantras and prayers, in which the love tied Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa with their supernatural beauty and sweetness form the central figures, and repeated for the spiritual benefit of the meditators. Śrī Caitanya, imbued with the spirit of Rādhā in his mental condition of *divyonmāda* (transcendental bewilderment), spoke of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in an emotional effusion.

मारः स्वयं नु मधुरद्युतिमण्डलं नु
माधुर्यमेव नु मनोनयनामृतं नु ।
वेणोमृजो नु मम जीवितवल्लभो नु
कृष्णोऽयमभ्युदयते मम लोचनाय ॥ (*KK*. śl. 68)

किवा साक्षात् काम, द्युतिविम्ब मूर्तिमान
किं माधुर्य स्वयं मूर्तिमन्त ।
किवा मनो नेत्रोत्सव, किवा प्राणवल्लभ
सत्य कृष्ण आइला नेत्रानन्द ॥ (*C*., II, 2, 63)

Yonder, Kṛṣṇa is appearing before my eyes. He is the god of love himself, he is the emitter of sweet effulgence, he is sweetness itself, he is nectar for the sight and the mind, he is an ornament for my head, and he is the darling of my life.

When Śrī Caitanya enquired of Raghupati Upādhyāya as to which age a devotee wants Kṛṣṇa to be in as the best age for the purpose of his meditation, he replied that of the three stages, *bālya* (age from one

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to five years), *pauganda* (from five to ten years), and *kaiśora* (from ten to fifteen years), the last is the best.

वाल्य पौगण्ड कैशोर श्रेष्ठ मान काय ।
'वयः कैशोरकं ध्येयं कहे' उपाध्याय ॥ (*C.*, II, 19, 541)

For this reason, Rāmānanda referred to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as *kiśora* in their dalliances in the groves of Vraja, this age being looked upon as ideal by the Vaiṣṇavas.

21. *Prema-Vilāsa* (*the highest Expression of Love*)

When Rāmānanda, in the course of his narration of the *Stages of Devotion* (see section 8), was asked by Śrī Caitanya to proceed beyond the Second Sub-Stage under the Third Stage, the first two Sub-Stages having been pronounced by him as superior. Then Rāmānanda detailed the Third Sub-Stage beyond which, he stated, it was impossible for the sentiments (*rasas*) to proceed. This consists in the *madhura rasa* (the sweet sentiment). Whatever may be the manner of expression of love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa i.e. whether it be *milana* (association) or *viraha* (separation), the root of the variations is the same *viz. ānanda* (bliss). Then he sang a song of his own composition, which presents a picture of the expression of the highest flight of love, soaring up from its humble beginning in the first sight.

पहिलहि राग नयनभङ्ग भेल ।
अनुदिन वाढ़ल—अवधि ना गेल ॥
ना सो रमण, ना हाम् रमणी ।
दुँहु मन मनोभव पेशल जानि ॥
ए सखि ! से-सव प्रेमकाहिनी ।
कानुठामे कहवि, विछुरह जानि ॥
ना खोँजलु दुतो, ना खोँजलु आन ।
दुँहुकेरि मिलने मध्यत पाँचवाण ॥
अव सोइ विराग, तुँहु भेलि दूती ।
सुपुरुख-प्रेमक ऐछन रीति ॥ (*C.*, II, 8, 227)

(Rādhā, separated from Kṛṣṇa by reason of a difference in the course of love, said to her message-carrier *gopī*, 'When love with Kṛṣṇa first arose through eyes meeting eyes, it increased every day, and its limit was beyond our ken. Neither was he my husband, nor was I his wife; still I felt that the god of love welded our two souls into one. Do not forget, my companion, to relate to Kṛṣṇa these past episodes of our love. Neither any intermediary, nor any other assistance was sought for for our

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union other than Cupid with his five arrows. Now the same Kṛṣṇa is utterly indifferent to me. Hence, the need for your intermediation. Such are the ways of love of a high-souled man like Kṛṣṇa').

At this point of his song, Śrī Caitanya stopped his mouth with his hand. Consideration of all the details that precede and succeed this portion of the dialogue between Śrī Caitanya and Rai Rāmānanda points to the conclusion that the former was imbued with the personality of Śrī Kṛṣṇa at the moment. Hence, when he noticed that the last verses of the song were proving very caustic towards Śrī Kṛṣṇa i.e. towards his own self at the moment, he expressed his desire to Rai Rāmānanda to stop short in the said manner lest there be any other verses yet unsung too pungent for him to hear.

22. *Means of Sādhana*

After listening to the song sung by Rai Rāmānanda, Śrī Caitanya remarked, 'What you have said about *bhakti* (*devotion*) is the last word on the subject. But without spiritual endeavours (*sādhana*), Śrī Kṛṣṇa cannot be contacted in communion. Will you now tell me the means of bringing him within reach.' The gist of the remarks of Rāmānanda in reply is: Every devotee is not competent for the service to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in their intimate hours in the groves. Those who have acquired the privilege of being the companions (*sakhī*) of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa enjoyment are eligible for this ministration. It is not within the competency of those who have taken to any of the first four *rasas* among the five as their means of *sādhana* to approach the groves of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, and take part in the services rendered to them. Only those, who have adopted by reason of their competency for same the fifth or the *madhura rasa* as their means of spiritual endeavour, can do so. They are the companions, who form an indispensable part of the *līlā* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in the said bowers, as without them the *līlā* cannot attain its full bloom. They in co-operation combine to minister to the enjoyment of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. It is only when a competent devotee, who has resorted to *madhura-rasa* as the means of *sādhana* places himself devotedly through his *siddha-deha* under the guidance of a *śakhī* that he acquires the privilege of *kuñja-sevā* (service in the bowers). It cannot be acquired by any other means, and this is the only path open to one whose aim is service to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in the *kuñjas*

राधाकृष्णेर लीला एइ अति गूढ़तर ।
दास्य वात्सल्यादि भावेर इहा नय गोचर ॥

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सबे एक सखीगणेर इँहा अधिकार ।
सखी हैते हय एइ लीलार विस्तार ॥
सखी विणु एइ लीलाय पुष्टि नाहि हय ।
सखी लीला विस्तारिया सखी आस्वादय ॥
सखी विणु एइ लीलाय अन्येर नाहि गति ।
सखीभावे येइ ताँरे करे अनुगति ॥
राधाकृष्ण-कुञ्जसेवा-साध्य सेइ पाय ।
सेइ साध्य पाइते आर नाहिक उपाय ॥ (*C.*, II, 8, 230-233)

A question may arise in our minds as to the reason why the *sakhis* should at all find a place in this *līlā*, because Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are each a complement of the other to produce the fullest sufficiency of bliss, and so, the presence of companions is superfluous. The reply is that as several dishes at a meal render it more relishable, so the association of the *sakhīs* in the *līlā* makes it more delightful: The superiority of Rādhā in beauty, qualities, fortune and love is indisputable. Yet the association of Kṛṣṇa with the *sakhīs* in the *līlā* enhances its strength. It is true they cannot make Kṛṣṇa happy without Rādhā, but at the same time, it is impossible to eliminate them in the *līlā* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa.

राधा सह क्रीड़ारस वृद्धिर कारण ।
आर सब गोपीगण रसोपकरण ॥
कृष्णेर वल्लभा राधा कृष्ण प्राणधन ।
ताँहा विनु सुख हेतु नहे गोपीगण ॥ (*C.*, I, 4, 117)

(The other Gopīs are ingredients, so to speak, for enhancing the tastefulness of Kṛṣṇa's sports and dalliance with Rādhā. Rādhā is the beloved of Kṛṣṇa and is the very gem of his life. Without her, the Gopīs are of no avail for his happiness).

Rāsa Līlā, which has been mentioned before, is a gala nocturnal festival on a full-moon night, in which the *Gopīs* in their beautiful dresses and ornaments dance in an orderly fashion in charming sylvan settings to the accompaniment of songs and instrumental music. This community dancing in the festival multiplied a thousand times the pleasure afforded by the dancing of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa with some of their *sakhīs* forming a small party in the intimate seclusion of their groves.[13]

(To be continued)

NARENDRA NATH LAW

13 Read in this connection chs. 'Prema-sampuṭa' and 'Rāsa-līlā' in the *Vaiṣṇava Rasa-sāhitya* by Rai Bahadur Khagendranath Mitra.

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The Date of the Gāthāsaptaśatī

The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* (also called *Saptaśatī* or *Sattasaī*) is unanimously regarded as the oldest and most important anthology in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit. It is traditionally ascribed to Hāla who, according to the account in the Purāṇas, seems to have flourished in the first century A.D.[1] Some of the *gāthās* included in this work contain references to deities, historical and legendary characters and other matters. Their evidence is consequently cited to prove that these deities, persons etc. were well-known before the beginning of the Christian era. To mention only one instance, the *gāthā*[2] No. 464 mentions Vikramāditya and refers to his munificence. This *gāthā* is often cited to prove the traditional view that a king named Vikramāditya flourished before the beginning of the Christian era and founded the era which is still current under his name.[3] The *gāthā* has also a bearing on the date of the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa who is popularly believed to have flourished at the court of Vikramāditya. Some other scholars, however, do not subscribe to the traditional view about the date of the *Saptaśatī* and assign the work to the third century A.D. or some later age.[4] It is, therefore, proposed to discuss this question here in the light of recent researches.

As its name indicates, the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* consists of 700 *gāthās* or Prakrit verses. Tradition ascribes this work to Hāla and this is corroborated by a *gāthā* (No. 3) included in this anthology which says that Hāla, who was beloved of poets, selected seven hundred out of a crore of embellished *gāthās*. Several Sanskrit and Prakrit poets[5] who have eulogised Hāla describe him as a king who had extended liberal patron-

1 See below, p. 41.

2 The numbers of *gāthās* quoted in this article refer to the Nirnayasāgar edition of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. They vary in the commentaries of Pītāmbara and Bhuvanapāla.

3 See, e.g., Haraprasad Shastri's remarks in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 320.

4 Weber, *Das Saptaśatakam des Hāla*, Introd. p. xxiii; Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, vol. III, p. 103. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 224 etc.

5 See Abhinanda's *Rāmacarita*, VI, 93; XXII, 100; Uddyotanasūri's *Geschichte der* (verses cited in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, ed. (1914) by Dalal, Notes, p. 12); Soḍḍhala, *Udayasundarī*, p. 2 etc.

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age to poets. The *Vajjālaggam*, another Prakrit anthology, contains a *gāthā* which says that Hāla ruled at Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paiṭhān) on the Godāvarī.[6] Hemacandra, the famous lexicographer, identifies Hāla with the king Sātavāhana or Sālāhaṇa.[7] Bāṇa also mentions Sātavāhana as the author of a *Kośa* of *subhāṣitas* which must be none other than the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. Sātavāhana was, however, a family name and occurs as such in two Nasik Cave inscriptions.[8] It was plainly derived from that of the progenitor of the family, but nothing was known about this Sātavāhana till recently. Only three years ago, a copper coin of this king was brought to light which I have published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (vol. VII, pp. 1 f.) Hāla was called Sātavāhana evidently because he was descended from this Sātavāhana. This family is called Āndhra in the Purāṇas probably because it was ruling in the Andhra country when the Purāṇas assumed their present shape. The Purāṇas give a list of thirty kings of this dynasty among whom Hāla's name occurs as the seventeenth.[9] According to the Purāṇas this dynasty ruled for a total period of 456 or 460 years. It must have risen to power soon after the death of Aśoka in *circa* B.C 237. Simuka, the first king of this dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas, may have come to the throne in *circa* B.C. 220. The Purāṇas give the reign periods of each king according to which Hāla had a brief reign of only five years. He may have ruled from A.D. 61 to A.D. 66. If he was the author of the *Saptaśatī*, the work must be referred to the first century A.D.

This date of the work has, however, been assailed on several grounds. Dr. Keith, drawing attention to the weakening of the consonants in the *gāthās* of the *Saptaśatī*, placed it in the period A.D. 200-450.[10] Weber referred it to the third century A.D. at the earliest, in any case to some period before the 7th century A.D.[11] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out that the internal evidence afforded by the work shows that it could not have been composed in the first century A.D.; for it refers to

6 *Vajjālaggam*, v. 468.

7 Hemacandra, *Abhidhānaratnamālā; Deśināmamālā*, VIII; 61.

8. Kṛṣṇa the second king mentioned in the Purāṇas is described as belonging to the *Sātavāhana* family. Similarly, Gautamīputra, another illustrious king of this family, who defeated Nahapāna is described as one who had established the fame of the Sātavāhana family. See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, pp. 33; 61 f.

9 Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 38 f.

10 Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 224.

11 Weber, *Das Saptaśatakam* etc., (1881), Introd., p. xxii.

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Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in v. 89, mentions the week-day Tuesday in v. 261 and glorifies Vikramāditya in v. 464. All these references, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, point to a much later date than the first century A.D.; for the earliest mention of Rādhikā occurs in the *Pañcatantra* which was compiled in the 5th century A.D.; the earliest instance of the use of the week-day occurs in the Eran inscription of Budhagupta, dated A.D. 484, but the practice of citing week-days did not come into general vogue till the 9th century A.D.; Vikramāditya whose liberality is eulogised in v. 464 must be either the famous Gupta king Candragupta II or his grandson Skandagupta, both of whom are known to have assumed that title; for no earlier king of this name is known to history. In view of these references, Dr. Bhandarkar would refer Hāla of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* to the commencement of the 6th century A.D.[12]

All these dates are more or less conjectural. They are based on the supposition that the anthology was compiled by a single person and that it has come down to us in its original form. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who seems to have subscribed to this view, called in question the tradition that Hāla, the author of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, was a Sātavāhana. As for Bāṇa's eulogy of Sātavāhana who composed a *Kośa* of songs, Dr. Bhandarkar says that there are no grounds for identifying this *Kośa* with Hāla's *Saptaśatī*.[13] We need not, however, be so sceptic about this matter. There must have been some basis for the tradition which has been vouched for by several Sanskrit and Prakrit poets and lexicographers, *viz.*, that Hāla of the Sātavāhana dynasty was the author of the *Saptaśatī*. As a matter of fact, the ancient name of this work was *Kośa* or *Gāthā-kośa* (Prakrit, *Gāhākoso*). This appears clear from the concluding verse preserved in some of the recensions, which describes it as a *Kośa* of seven hundred *gāthās* marked with the names of poets, which was compiled by Sātavāhana.[14] Another verse in the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotanasūri who flourished in the eighth century A.D. also calls it

12 *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 189. 13 *Ibid.*

14 See Weber, *Das Saptaśatakam* etc., v. 709— एसो कइणामंकिअगाहापडिबद्धवट्टिआमोओ। सत्तसअओ समत्तो सालाहणविरइओ कोसो॥ (एष कविनामाङ्कितगाथाप्रतिबद्धवर्धिताभोदः। सप्तशतकः समाप्तः सातवाहनविरचितः कोशः॥)
This verse is given also in a f.n. at the end of p. 207 of the Nirṇayasāgar ed. of the *Saptaśatī* (pub. in 1911). The work is also called *Kośa* in the concluding verses of some *Śatakas* cited by Pītāmbara. See pp. 54 and 79.

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Kośa and compares it with the *Kośa* (bud) of a lotus.[15] Uddyotanasūri ascribes this *Kośa* to Hāla. This will make it plain that the *Kośa* of *subhāṣitas* compiled by Sātavāhana and eulogised by Bāṇa was not different from the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Hāla.

We need not however suppose that all the verses now included in the several recensions of the *Saptaśatī* date from the time of Hāla. There must have been interpolations in it from time to time. This can be easily shown from the internal evidence of the work.

The *Saptaśatī* has come down to us in as many as seven recensions as shown by Weber.[16] There are only 430 stanzas common to all the recensions which may have formed the original kernel of the work. Tradition says that the gāthās were composed by several poets and that they were only collected and perhaps refashioned by Hāla. Originally every stanza had the poet's name attached to it, but in course of time several names were lost owing perhaps to the carelessness of the scribes. As many as thirteen commentaries on this anthology are still extant and many of them mention names of poets in connection with individual stanzas. Bhuvanapāla, one of the ancient commentators of this work, mentions as many as 384 names of poets who contributed to the *Saptaśatī*.

The *gāthās* of the *Saptaśatī* were composed in the Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit. Some of them contain references to the Vindhya mountain and the Revā, Tāpī and Godāvarī rivers. The Godāvarī is very frequently referred to, which is but natural as several poets must have been attached to the court of Hāla. No country, river or mountain of North India finds mention in any *gāthā* which shows that the work had its origin in South India in general and Mahārāṣṭra in particular.

According to tradition[17] Pādalipta or Pālitta was the foremost among the poets at the court of Hāla and received liberal patronage from him. The *Saptaśatī* contains several *gāthās* ascribed to him. Many other

15 See *Kuvalayamālā* quoted by Dalal in the Notes (p. 12) to his edition of Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* पणईहिं कइयणेण य भमरेहिं व जस्स जायपणाएहिं । कमलायरोव्व कोसो विलुप्पमाणो वि हु ण झीणो ॥ (प्रणयिभिः कविजनेन च भ्रमरैरिव यस्य जातप्रणयैः । कमलाकर इव कोशो विलुप्यमानोपि न खलु क्षीणः ॥)
Kośa in Sanskrit means a treasure, a bud of flower as well as an anthology. Bāṇa and Uddyotanasūri have used the word with a *double entendre* while describing the work of Hāla-Sātavāhana.

16 Weber, *Das Saptaśatakam* etc. p. xxviii; *Indische Studien*, XVI, pp. 9 f.

17 See verses cited in the Notes, p. 12 to Dalal's ed. of the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.

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poets were, however, living in the country, for their *gāthās* contain realistic pictures of village life. Most of these poets must have been ordinary persons unknown to fame. Some of them were women. The commentators mention the names of some of them such as Revā, Mādhavī, Anulakṣmī, Āndhralakṣmī etc.[18] Some of the poets were however distinguished personages who, though ruling over extensive kingdoms, were not loth to serve the Muse of poetry. A careful consideration of the age in which they flourished is likely to shed interesting light on the date of the *Saptaśatī*.

The foremost of these royal poets was, of course, Hāla himself, the compiler of the anthology. Nearly forty *gāthās* are ascribed to him in the Nirṇayasāgar edition of the *Saptaśatī*. Some of these are attributed to Śālavāhana (i.e. Sātavāhana) in the recently published commentary of Pītāmbara.[19] This is not surprising as Śālavāhana or Sālāhaṇa was a Prakrit form of Sātavāhana which, as we have seen, was the family name of Hāla. Some of the verses ascribed by Pītāmbara to Śālavāhana are not, however, given under the name of Hāla by the Nirṇayasāgar edition, but they may have been composed by him; for the tradition in respect of attribution of verses is somewhat discrepant.

One other member of the Sātavāhana dynasty seems to have contributed *gāthās* to the *Saptaśatī*. Commentators ascribe two *gāthās* (*viz.* 54 and 454) to Karṇa or Karṇarāja. That a king named Karṇa belonged to the Sātavāhana family and ruled in the Deccan is shown by some potin coins recently found at Tarhāḷā in the Akola District of Berar.[20] These coins are of the same type and fabric as other Sātavāhana coins found there and in other places in Mahārāṣṭra and have the legend *Kaṇa-sātakaṇisa*. This Karṇa was one of the later kings of the dynasty and may be identical with Śāntikarṇa[21] (also called Caṇḍaśrī in the Purāṇas) who was the twelfth descendant of Hāla. He may have reigned from *circa* A.D. 229 to 238.

Pravarasena—The Nirṇayasāgar edition ascribes five verses (viz. 45, 64, 202, 208 and 216) to Pravarasena, and Pītāmbara adds two more (vv. 481 and 565) to them. Further, Bhuvanapāla mentions Pravara, Pravara-

18 See Index of *gāthās* in the Nirṇayasāgar ed. and that in *Indische Studien*, vol. XVI, pp. 19 f.

19 *Gāthāsaptaśatiprakāśikā* ed. by Pandit Jagdish Lal (1942).

20 See my article, entitled 'A New Hoard of Sātavāhana Coins from Tarhāla in *J.N.S.I.*, vol. II, pp. 83 f.

21 Pargiter, *Dynasties* etc., p. 43, n. 20.

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rāja or Pravarasena as the author of the following *gāthās* 46, 126, 158, 203, 209, 321, 341, 506, 567 and 724. This Pravarasena is probably identical with the homonymous author of the Prakrit *kāvya Setubandha* or *Rāvaṇavaho*. This work has evoked high praise from several Sanskrit authors and rhetoricians such as Daṇḍin, Bāṇa and Ānandavardhana.[22] The author must therefore have flourished before the seventh century A.D. As stated before, he must have been a native of Mahārāṣṭra. Tradition says that the *Setubandha* was actually composed by the famous Sanskrit author Kālidāsa and ascribed to Pravarasena by the order of Vikramāditya.[23] This tradition can be satisfactorily explained only if we identify this Pravarasena with Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty; for the latter was the daughter's son of Candragupta II—Vikramāditya. Most scholars—Indian as well as European—now hold the view that Kālidāsa flourished at the court of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II. It should not therefore be surprising if the poet was asked by his royal patron to compose or revise a work for his daughter's son, Pravarasena II who was ruling over Vidarbha. This Pravarasena may have also composed stray Prakrit verses, some of which seem to have found a place in the *Saptaśatī*. Pravarasena II flourished from *circa* A.D. 420 to 450.

Sarvasena—Pītāmbara's commentary on the *Saptaśatī* ascribes *gāthās* 502 and 503 to Sarvasena. Bhuvanapāla mentions this poet's name in connection with two more *gāthās viz.* 217 and 234. This Sarvasena must be identical with the homonymous poet who has long been known as the author of a Prakrit *kāvya* called *Harivijaya*. This work also has received unstinted praise from several Sanskrit authors and rhetoricians.[24] Daṇḍin mentions in his *Avantisundarīkathā* that Sarvasena, the author of the *Harivijaya*,[25] was a king. Only one king of this name is known to history, viz. he who was one of the younger sons of the great Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarasena I and founded the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. His name has been mentioned in the Bāsim plates[26] of his son Vindhyaśakti II recently edited by me. I have also shown

22 See my article entitled 'Royal Poets of the Vākāṭaka Age,' *ante.*, vol. XXI, pp. 193 f.

23 See the statement of Rāmadāsa in his com. on the *Setubandha*, I, 1.

24 *I.H.Q.*, vol. XXI, pp. 197 f.

25 See *Avantisundarīkathā*, p. 2— राज्ञा श्रीसर्वसेने[न].....विजयं हरेः ॥

26 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 151 f.

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that he is mentioned in the inscription[27] in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā. Sarvasena flourished in *circa* A.D. 330-335.

Pravarasena II and Sarvasena belonged to two different branches of the Vākāṭaka family—one ruling at Nandivardhana (near Nagpur) and the other at Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akola District of Berar. There were two other branches of the great Vākāṭaka family which though referred to in the Purāṇas[28] are still in oblivion as none of their records have yet been found. I have elsewhere[29] put forward the conjecture that they were ruling over Kuntala (now Southern Mahārāṣṭra and Northern Karṇāṭaka) which lay to the south of the Godāvarī. These branches seem to have flourished in Kuntala till the rise of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas in *circa* A.D. 375. No members of these branches are yet known by name, but since the names of the princes of both the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches are found to end invariably in *sena*, the names of these other Vākāṭaka rulers also may, in all probability, have ended in *sena*. The commentators of the *Saptaśatī* mention several such names[30] viz. Jayasena (v. 170), Makarandasena (vv. 6, 80, 98, 429 599), Mallasena (vv. 237 and 238), Mahāsena (v. 328), Vasantasena (v. 323), Viśvasena (v. 340) and Satyasena (233 and 298). It may not be wrong to conjecture that all these or at least some of them belonged to the other two branches of the Vākāṭaka dynasty which were ruling to the south of the Godāvarī.

Māna—As stated before, the aforementioned two Vākāṭaka branches were wiped out in *circa* A.D. 375 by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who rose to power in Kuntala. The founder of this latter dynasty was Mānāṅka who founded the city of Mānapura (modern Mān in the Sātārā District of the Bombay Presidency) which he made his capital.[31] It would seem therefore that this king was also known by the name of Māna or Mānarāja.[32] In that case the four verses 101-104 which some commentators ascribe to Māna may have been composed by him.[33]

27 Mirashi, *Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā*, (Hyderabad Arch. Series, No. 14), p. 10. 28 Pargiter, *Dynasties* etc., p. 50.

29 *Ind. Cult.*, vol. XI, p. 233; *Ante*, vol. XXI, p. 200.

30 See Indexes to *gāthās* in the Nirṇayasāgar ed. of the *Saptaśatī* and in Bhuvanapāla's commentary, *Ind. Stud.* vol. XVI, pp. 19 f.

31 See 'The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura', *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXV, pp. 36 f.

32 In ancient times *aṅka* was optionally added to personal names. Compare *Vimala* or *Vimalāṅka*, the author of *Paümacariu*.

33 Weber, *Das Saptaśatakam*, pp. 36 f.

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Devarāja—Two copper-plate grants of this Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa family mention Devarāja, the son of Mānāṅka. I have shown elsewhere[34] that this Devarāja was probably the Kuntaleśa to whose court the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador by Candragupta II—Vikramāditya. If the tradition recorded in the *Kuntaleśavaradautya* is correct, this Devarāja was a man of easy-going nature and spent his days in the company of beautiful ladies. He may also have been fond of literature and arts. He may be identical with the poet Devarāja to whom two *gāthās* of the *Saptaśatī* (viz. 138 and 239) have been ascribed. Whether this Devarāja composed any Prakrit *kāvya* is not known, but he seems to have composed a lexicon of Deśī words which has been cited in some places in Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*.[35] As I have shown elsewhere, this Devarāja must have flourished in *circa* A.D. 400-425.

Āḍhyarāja—The name of this author has long been known from the praise lavished on him by Bāṇa in an introductory verse of his *Harṣacarita*.[36] The tenor of description in Bāṇa's verse suggests that Āḍhyarāja wrote an *Ākhyāyikā* which was considered superb in Bāṇa's age. The *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*[37] of Bhoja (11th century A.D.) gives the further information that in the time of Āḍhyarāja every person spoke in Prakrit. According to the commentator Ratneśvara, this Āḍhyarāja was identical with Śālivāhana, but the name is not met with in the list of Sātavāhana kings, given by the Purāṇas. It is not known whether Bhoja had reliable tradition about Āḍhyarāja or whether he was misled by the name. The suggestion that he was identical with Harṣa is untenable. Whoever Āḍhyarāja may have been, there is no doubt that he was a Prakrit poet, for Bhuvanapāla ascribes four *gāthās* (viz., 66, 169, 219 and 235) to him. The Nirṇayasāgar edition gives three more verses under his name *viz.* 26, 218, 234. This seems to suggest that the *ākhyāyikā* of Āḍhyarāja eulogised by Bāṇa was in Prakrit. We have however no further information about the country and age in which he flourished.

Vākpatirāja—The Nirṇayaśāgar edition of the *Saptaśatī* ascribes only one verse (95) to Vākpatirāja, but Pītāmbara gives three more verses *viz.*,

34 *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXV, p. 45.

35 *Deśīnāmamālā* ed. by M. Banerjee, pp. xxxix.

36 *Harṣacarita*, v. 18. आढ्यराजकृतोत्साहैर्हृदयस्थैः स्मृतैरपि । जिह्वान्तः कृष्यमाणेव न कवित्वे प्रवर्तते ॥

37 *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (Nirṇayasāgar ed.).

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616, 617 and 618) under his name.[38] Like Pravarasena and Sarvasena, Vākpatirāja also is famous as the author of Prakrit works. Two *kāvyas* written in Māhārāṣṭrī, namely *Madhumathanavijaya*[39] and *Gaüḍavaho* were composed by him. Of these the first is not now extant, but it is mentioned by the well-known critic Ānandavardhana[40] and one of its verses has been cited by Abhinavagupta[41] and Hemacandra[42] from which it seems that it treated of some incident in Kṛṣṇa's life. The other work *Gaüḍavaho* is well known for its beautiful diction and graphic descriptions. Vākpatirāja was a junior contemporary of Bhavabhūti to whom he pays a respectful homage in one[43] of his verses in the *Gaüḍavaho*. Like Bhavabhūti he received patronage at the court of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, for whose glorification he has composed his Prakrit *kāvya*. We have no reliable information about the native province of Vākpatirāja, but in view of his association with Bhavabhūti it may be conjectured that he also like the latter, belonged to Vidarbha and went to far off Kanauj to seek royal patronage, because in the beginning of the eighth century A.D. when these great poets flourished, there was no great king ruling in Vidarbha. The aforementioned *gāthās* ascribed to Vākpatirāja do not occur in the *Gaüḍavaho*. It has therefore been conjectured that they must have been taken from his lost *kāvya Madhumathanavijaya*.[44] The *gāthās* are however of the *muktaka* or *subhāṣita* type and seem to have been stray verses, not taken from any particular *kāvya*. *Vākpatirāja* who was a court-poet of Yaśovarman probably flourished in the second quarter of the eighth century A.D.

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that Karṇa (*circa* A.D. 229-238), Sarvasena (*circa* A.D. 330-355), Pravarasena II (*circa* A.D. 420-455), Mānāṅka (*circa* A.D. 375-400), Devarāja (*circa* A.D. 400-425) Vākpatirāja (*circa* 715-750) have all contributed their *gāthās* to the *Saptaśatī*. The work was thus receiving additions from time to time down to the eighth century A. D. As the *Saptaśatī* was only a collection of stray verses, it was quite easy to interpolate one or more verses into it. We cannot consequently adduce the evidence of any particular verse of the

38 *Bhuvanapāla* ascribes v. 32 also to him, but this is given under the name of Bhogika by other commentators.
39 See *Gaüḍavaho*, v. 69.
40 *Dhvanyāloka* (Nirṇayasāgar ed. 1911), p. 152.
41 *Loc. cit.*
42 See Hemacandra, *Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi* (ed. by Rasiklal), vol. I, p. 81.
43 *Gaüḍavaho*, v. 799.
44 Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, p. 11.

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Saptaśatī for determining the limits for the date of any person or work unless we are sure about its existence in the anthology in a particular age.

Let us take the case of the oft-quoted verse (No. 464) which refers to the munificence of Vikramāditya.[45] It runs as follows:—

संवाहणसुहरसतोसिएण देंतेण तुह करे लक्खं ।
चलणेण विक्कमाइच्चचरित्रं अनुसिक्खिअं तिस्सा ॥

This verse is evidently addressed by a woman to her lover and refers to the latter's secret shampooing of another woman's foot. Translation—Her foot which being delighted by your shampooing imprinted its lac-dye marks on your hand, has imitated the action of Vikramāditya (who also being pleased with the victories of his men, places a lakh of coins on their hands).

This verse is given anonymously in the Nirṇayasāgar edition of the *Saptaśatī*, but we cannot be sure about its existence in the days of Hāla. As no king of the name of Vikramāditya is known to have flourished before the first century A.D.,[46] it is not unlikely that the *gāthā* refers to the liberality of a later *Vikramāditya*. And curious as it may appear, there was a similar tradition about the famous Gupta king Candragupta II—Vikramāditya which is recorded in an inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Sanjān plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I contain the following verse:[47]

हत्वा भ्रातरमेव राज्यमहरद्देवीं च दीनस्तथा
लक्षं कोटिमलेखयत्किल कलौ दाता स गुप्तान्वयः ।
येनात्याजि तनुः स्वराज्यमसकृद्वाल्यार्थकैः का कथा
ह्रीस्तस्योन्नतराष्ट्रकूटतिलको दातेति कीर्त्यामपि ॥

Translation[48]—That wretch of the Gupta lineage (*viz.*, Candragupta II) who, having killed his own brother (Rāmagupta), usurped his kingdom

45 Bhuvanapāla ascribes it to Saṁvararājya (? Saṁvararāja) about whom, however, nothing is known. (*Ind. Stud.*, vol. XVI, p. 15).

46 It is now well known that the era now current under the name of Vikramāditya was called Kṛta down to the fifth century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.* vol. XXIII, p. 49). It is seen associated with the name of Vikramāditya for the first time in the tenth century A.D., the earliest record of this kind being the Ekalingji stone inscription of the Guhila prince Naravāhana incised in V.S. 1028 (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. XXII, pp. 166 f.)

47 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 248.

48 It will be noticed that the translation given above differs in many places from that given by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 255.

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and also his queen (Dhruvadevī), was, they say, a (*great*) donor in (*this*) Kali age (*because*) he caused (his *Bhāṇḍāgārika*) to record (*donations of*) of a lakh (*or*) a crore. (*In view of this*) Amoghavarṣa, who sacrificed his body and (also) relinquished his kingdom more than once, not to speak of other external things, feels ashamed when his fame spreads that he, the ornament of the exalted Rāṣṭrakūṭas, is a donor.

In this verse Amoghavarṣa I who had cut off and offered a finger of his left hand to Mahālakṣmī[49] to avert a public calamity and abdicated the throne more than once in order to devote himself to religious practices,[50] is said to excel the Gupta king Candragupta II in righteousness and liberality; for Candragupta II had caused the murder of his own brother Rāmagupta and remarried his wife Dhruvadevī. Further, he did not actually confer gifts of a lakh or a crore, but only caused them to be recorded to make a show of his liberality. We are not concerned here with the correctness of the statements of Amoghavarṣa's panegyrist about Candragupta's liberality, but the description clearly shows that stories about the fabulous munificence of Candragupta II—Vikramāditya were current among the people as late as the ninth century A.D. And it is not surprising that such a *gāthā* should have been composed in Vidarbha about Candragupta II and should have found a place in the anthology of Mahārāṣṭra; for the influence of that illustrious and mighty Gupta emperor was very great at the courts of both the Vākāṭakas and the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas[51] who ruled to the north and the south of the Godāvarī where the *gāthās* of the *Saptaśatī* were mainly composed. This *gāthā* therefore in no way goes against, but rather corroborates the view that Vikramāditya and his protégé Kālidāsa flourished in the last quarter of the fourth century A.D.

V. V. Mirashi

49 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 248.

50 Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 88 f.

51 Mirashi, 'The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura,' *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXV, pp. 36 f. The verses 227 and 439 which Bhuvanapāla ascribes to Vikrama and Vikramāditya respectively may have been composed by Candragupta II—Vikramāditya

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The Cinderella Motif in Assamese Folk-tales

In Assam there is a number of stories in which appears the Cinderella motif. As my survey of Indian folk-tales in the several provincial languages is not at all complete and as books of reference are difficult to obtain, I shall first make an attempt to deal with the subject with material available in Assamese only. Later on I shall cite instances from some other parts of India.

A stepmother's cruel treatment of her stepdaughter is the nucleus around which has grown up that body of folk-tales of which Cinderella or Ashputtel as found in Grimm's Household Tales is usually taken as a model. In the model story the mother dies and her child is left to the care of her husband's second wife. The child suffers in more ways than one and is helped by a bird nesting on a tree which has grown on her mother's grave and is ultimately rewarded for all the sufferings she has had

In the tale of Cinderella the child is not murdered, but in that of the Juniper Tree, where we have a boy in place of the girl, the stepmother murders her stepson, cooks and serves him as pudding to her husband. But her daughter takes the cast off bones, lays them under a tree under which the boy's dead mother has been buried with the result that a bird appears on it and this bird after punishing the criminal lady resumes its shape of the boy who has so long been missing.

1. One of the tales in Assamese which has as its motif a stepmother's ill-treatment of her stepdaughter is known as that of Tejā and Tejī.

A man had two wives, the senior one being mother of a boy Tejā and a girl Tejī. The junior wife was her husband's pet, and she had a daughter. One day while both the co-wives were having their bath in the tank the junior one pushed the other into the water under the pretext of rubbing her back and muttered: As a tortoise may you stay. When she returned home Tejā and Tejī asked their stepmother of their mother. "She may have gone to her maternal-uncle," replied the jealous woman. From that day she started heaping the household drudgery on the poor children while her own daughter was pampered.

One day while Tejā and Tejī passed along the brink of the tank a large tortoise came out and accosted them. "I am your mother," she said, "ah, how emaciated you look." The children were overjoyed to

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find their mother who offered them her retching. They ate it and felt exhilarated. Since then they used to go there always and eat of their mother's retching. Thus they became hale and hearty while, on the other hand, their step-sister never flourished in spite of her mother's pampering.

At this their stepmother became suspicious, and in order to find out what they did while they tended the cattle, she one day sent her daughter along with them. Tejā and Tejī could not evade their sister and had to give her a share of their meal. From that day she also was a regular visitor to the tank and consequently grew in health.

Her mother could not be hood-winked and she pressed her daughter to tell her what took place while they were out in the fields. Under threat of dire punishment the girl had to tell her everything. That very day the woman fell ill and started groaning, "Ah, I'm having such pain.....Ah, I feel like eating something.....Ah....." Her husband inquired, "What ails you?" "Oh I've pain in the bones, I think the flesh of the tortoise would be good for me." So there was a hunt for the large tortoise in the tank. In the meantime Tejā and Tejī had informed their mother of this danger to her life and she had told them thus, "I won't be caught in anyone's net. If I'm caught at all, I shall be caught in your *jaka* and *juluki*."[1] She added, "Do not eat my flesh, but gather up my shell and paws and entrails and bury them near the gate."

So the tortoise was caught by Tejā only, and when she was being killed and quartered, her children gathered up the shell, paws and entrails and buried them near the gate. After the flesh was being cooked their stepmother showered upon them unusual kindness and said, "Why, you would say that I don't give you enough to eat, so have as much as you like." But they hid their shares under their plates and afterwards buried them near the gate.

Next morning the people were surprised to see two trees, one of gold and the other of silver, at the place where Tejā and Tejī had secretly buried the remains of the tortoise. The wonderful news spread far and wide and the king sent his men to have the trees. But none could uproot them. Then Tejā proposed that if the king would marry his sister he would agree to transplant the trees in the king's garden. The king readily consented and Tejā did as he had said. (From here Tejā drops

1 Contrivances made of bamboo strips used in pouncing upon fish.

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out of the picture). The king had seven wives and they had seven ghats or landing-grounds used also as bathing places. The king had to make an eighth ghat in order to land Tejī because of his seven jealous wives.

Her stepmother naturally became all the more jealous at Tejī's good fortune. After some days Tejī had a son born to her, and, as is customary after such an event, she visited her mother's (now her stepmother's) place. There she went for her bath to the tank along with her step-sister. The latter pushed a thorn into her head and she turned into a *Śālika* bird. The step-sister then put on her royal clothes and went to the king's palace. But the *Śālika* followed her. Tejī had left a cloth on her loom. Her step-sister sat at the loom and spoiled the pattern for she did not know how to weave. The *Śālika* saw all this and sang—

Ah, she is but weaving somebody else's cloth,
What she does is but to break the yarn and spoil the pattern.

The woman drove the bird away. She then tried to feed Tejī's baby but it only wailed and wailed and would not suck her breasts. The *Śālika* came and sang—

Ah, she's but dandling somebody else's prince.
What she does is to make it cry all the more.

The king heard all this and suspected some foul play. He spoke to the bird—

Oh *Śālika*, if indeed you're my queen,
Come, alight on my shoulder.

She flew to his shoulder, and finding a thorn in her head he pulled it out. Tejī again became her former self. Then she took her child, consoled it and sat at her loom. The king knowing her to be his true wife, asked his people to tie her step-sister hand and foot and have her trampled upon by an elephant. Then he separated the fat of the dead woman and put it in a pot and also put the flesh in a different pot.

A few persons went to Tejī's stepmother with these pots. They gave her only the first pot and she thought that her daughter had sent her a present of oil. When the oil became hot and sputtered, she exclaimed, "Ah, see how good my daughter is, she has sent me such good oil!" So that evening she and her husband had a savoury meal. The king's men did not eat anything under the pretext of illness. But they muttered—

They light lamps with the oil of their kith.
So is the room so bright today,

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A kith cooks a kith, a kith a kith serves,
And kiths have eaten a kith today.

So the night was over. Next morning leaving the other pot there the men departed. The mother gladdened at the thought of further presents uncovered the pot and what she saw there was enough for her.

2. More famous is the tale of Tejimalā whose name probably has influenced the names Tejā and Tejī in the story just reproduced. The Tejimalā tale goes thus:

A merchant had a dainty girl named Tejimalā. He lost his wife and married again and this second wife grew jealous of her stepdaughter When Tejimalā grew up her father went in search of a groom. He found a handsome young man and brought him to his home. But before the marriage was consummated the merchant and his would-be son-in-law went abroad with their merchandise. This was the chance for the vile woman. The jealous woman started persecuting her stepdaughter in all ways she could. The poor girl had to do all the household works.

After a few days Tejimalā wanted to go to the marraige of her cousin on the maternal side. So she asked for some clothes. Her stepmother turned down the suggestion but changing her mind gave her a bundle saying, "put them on only at the wedding. And if you spoil them see what I do to you." The girl went away and while resting on the wayside she was surprised to see a few mice run out of her bundle of clothes. She opened it and found all the clothes damaged by the mice and also stained with the saliva which fills the mouth when one chews a piece of betel-nut. She knew that it was all due to her jealous stepmother. The unhappy girl returned home and received a nice thrashing at her torturer's hand.

Her stepmother then took her to the rice-husking pedal and while the girl was pushing in the paddy into the hole where the hammer of the contrivance fell and her hands got smashed. She then had to manage with her feet which also were crushed. Her stepmother insisted on her pushing in the paddy with her head. So her head also was crushed. The evil woman then buried the body in the ground below the eves of her cottage. A *lāo* or gourd creeper grew up at the spot and it was full of inviting fruits. A beggar saw them and wanted to have one but the creeper cried out—

Do not stretch your palm nor pick any *lāo*
O beggar, wherefrom do you come?

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My mother is dead, my father forsook me
And alone I live,
So could my stepmother maltreat me
Just for some clothes,
I'm not a *lāo*-creeper nor a *lāo*
Poor Tejimalā I am.

The beggar was scared away but her stepmother cut the creeper down and threw it away on the road. There it grew into a chillie shrub. The cowherds saw the ripe chillies and wanted to have them in order to eat them with sour fruits. But they also were scared away as formerly. The stepmother again cut down the tree and threw it into the river. It became a lovely flower shrub on the bank of the river. While the tree was blooming there in all its glory came on a boat Tejimalā's father and future husband. The old man thought that such lovely flowers would be a pleasant surprise for his daughter. But as he stretched his hand the flowers began to speak and the merchant came to know of the lot of the much-persecuted girl. Then the girl appeared in her former shape.

The merchant returned home and keeping Tejimalā hidden in his boat inquired of his wife of her whereabouts. The woman lied, "Oh the naughty girl went to her maternal-uncle and has not returned since." The merchant grew furious and produced Tejimalā. Then he called together his neighbours, put the case before them and had his wife trampled upon by an elephant.

3. The above version is current in Sibsagar in north Assam. In a version of this story as found at Goalpara in western Assam the merchant leaves the girl at home in the care of her stepmother and goes abroad. She is maltreated by her stepmother in the usual manner. One day she desires to go to the king's palace where there is a feast. She is given a bundle of clothes with some cinders inside. She comes back weeping when she finds that her clothes have been spoilt and her step-mother hacks her into pieces. A tree grows up at the place where she is buried. When her step-brother goes to pick a fruit she cries out and the boy is called back by his mother. The stepmother then cuts the tree down and throws it away. There grows up an arum shrub. The boy goes to pick a young leaf of the shrub and it cries out. So it is uprooted and thrown into the river where it becomes a lovely lotus. After some days the merchant returns and seeing the attractive lotus he wants to have it for his daughter. But

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to his utter surprise the flower speaks and tells its sad history. It then asks the man to pick it with a wrench and it turns into his daughter. They come home, and the father hiding the girl in his boat asks his wife of her whereabouts. The evil woman is unable to hoodwink him. But in order to test her, he stretches a thread—the thread of *dharma* or truth—across a well and asks his daughter to walk over it which she safely does. But his wife misses her footing, falls into the water and dies.

4. Another tale of this variety, current in North Lakhimpur, goes thus: A man had two wives, one favourite, the other not in his good grace. The wife not in favour had a beautiful and good-natured daughter named Campāvatī. Her co-wife also had a daughter. Both the daughters used to go to the field and sing to the birds to keep themselves away from the ripe paddy. But whenever Campāvatī sang, a voice always replied:

Paddy shall I have, rice too,
And Campāvatī I shall have for my bride.

When the other girl sang there was no response. After an enquiry it was found that a huge snake dwelt in the forest and it was the snake which used to reply to Campāvatī. Campāvatī's stepmother persuaded her husband to give the girl in marriage to the reptile, for it would be good riddance, she imagined. But the girl was found to be quite happy at her husband's place where she got everything she wanted. Her stepmother burnt with jealousy and wishing to make her daughter as happy set her husband to find a large snake. So her daughter was married to the snake and, to put shortly, the husband swallowed up his wife at night. Thus the jealous woman got her reward. Campāvatī, on the other hand, came to learn that her husband was a prince and after burning up the slough which kept him covered, she got him in his "real shape. (This latter portion of the tale would place it in the class of "Beauty and the Beast").

5. There are a few less significant tales of this nature. In one of them the stepmother is a glutton. When her husband, a merchant, goes abroad, she maltreats her stepchildren, starves them and herself eats about seven times. After some days the merchant returns home, sees the condition his children are in, and knowing his wife for what she is, gives her a thrashing and turns her out of her home. In a second tale the youngest child of the family, a daughter, is ill-treated by her seven sister-in-laws when their husbands are out with their merchandise.

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They force her to marry a monkey who later on turn out to be a prince. The jealous women are afterwards thrown into a pit as in the above tale number 3. In a third tale the stepmother ill-treats the girl and while her father is away, tries to give her in marriage to an ugly and stunted person. But the girl prays to the moon to rescue her and is finally taken up to the sky.[2]

In another tale a king has two wives who are barren. A sage gives them a fruit. The senior wife eats it up and when the junior one demands her share says that she forgot to keep anything for her. So the latter eats the seeds and the peelings of the fruit and after some days becomes pregnant. The selfish wife does not benefit from her meanness. When her time of delivery approaches the younger wife asks her cowife what to do. The latter advises her thus, "Cover your eyes with a seven-fold cloth and go on working on the paddy-husking pedal." The woman delivers herself of a hundred sons and a daughter but all these are thrown into the river and some wooden dolls are substituted in their place. The children are picked up by an old couple and brought up at its place. When they grow up they come to know of their antecedents and after some adventures return home. In the mean time the daughter has married a merchant prince. Their father, the king, hacks the wicked queen into pieces and reinstates his junior wife in his favour.[3]

6. Dr. Verrier Elwin in Chapter 6 of his *Folk-tales of Mahakoshal* comments on a few tales collected from the aboriginals of the Central Provinces, where occurs the motif of the jealous queen. Dr. Elwin would place these tales in the Rhea Sylvia group and he singles out a few features common to them. In them one finds a king contracting a supernumerary marriage; the new queen being treated with special consideration; the co-wives dispose of the child or children of the new queen in such a way that is expected to lead to their death; the children pass through a number of ordeals and where they die they turn into flowers or trees; the mother and children are usually reinstated and the wicked wives get destroyed.[4] In Dr. Elwin's collection several tales

2 These three tales are found in M. S. Bardoloi's *Jonaki Sadhu*, Jorhat, Assam, 1932. I cannot vouch for their authenticity.

3 The tale of the hundred sons and the golden-nosed daughter, in S. C. Das's *Mor Desar Sadhukatha*, Golaghat, Assam, 1939.

4 Verrier Elwin, *Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1944.

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have instances of substitution of the new-born baby or babies with a piece of stone or such article, as in the Assamese tale in para 5.

7. There is a Santal tale which describes the jealousy of a cruel stepmother and the consequent abandonment of the child by its father the king. The child passes through certain ordeals and in the end gets reconciled to his father, his stepmother having hanged herself. In a second tale also a similar situation occurs, where the father, a rustic, has a wave of common sense and leaves his son unharmed, giving his wife a good beating.[5] The Bengali tale of Vijay and Vasanta also tells of the abandonment of children by a king. It appears in Rev. L. B. Dey's *Folk-tales of Bengal* as *Svet Vasanta*. In the latter version the children go out of their own accord.

8. In a tale supposed to be found in northern India, a clever mother at her death bed advises her co-wife to feed her son poorly, not to let him out, nor to send him to school, with the result that the foolish but jealous stepmother does just the opposite and the son grows up to be a fine and able young man.[6]

Conclusion: If the three features—(a) a persecuted maiden rousing her stepmother and step-sister's jealousy, (b) intervention of supernatural agency, and (c) a prince who falls in love with and marries her, are the essence of the Cinderella tale, then the motif seems to be pretty widespread all over the world. The incidents common to several of these tales are interesting. The bird in the tale of Tejā and Tejī reminds one of the helpful bird in the tale of Cinderella, while the silver and gold trees in the same tale have a parallel in the tale of the Juniper Tree. Tejimalā's desire to visit her maternal-uncle's place or the desire of the girl in para 3 to be present at the king's feast brings to mind a similar situation in the Cinderella tale. Probably if all the tales of this nature could be surveyed and analysed they would reveal features which might, in some cases, lead one to the view that there have been borrowings and lendings in earlier times among primitive peoples. Scholars have been there who have been able to come to such generalisations in respect of certain other tales.[7]

5 C. H. Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, London, 1909, pp. 26, 36.
6 J. Jagati, *Sadhukathar Jolonga*, Dibrugarh, Assam 1926, p. 26 ff.
7 In an article in the *J.R.A.S.* (London), pts. 3 & 4, 1947, H. G. Rawlinson

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Dr. Elwin observes that the stories of the jealous queens "are possibly intended to teach the dangers and distresses of polygamy." This seems to be true only partially, for the jealousy of a woman is not limited to a polygamous society: a second but necessary marriage may as well be its source. In Assam as in India polygamy is dying out. So if the tales imply anything in especial they may just refer to a social background where polygamy was in vogue.[8]

We may look at these tales from a different point of view. Man has to pass through ordeals and it is meet that he should at least *wish* to come out victorious and vindicated. The hapless girl who is victimised by her stepmother is just the symbol of suffering man and her ultimate vindication is but man's desire to see justice done. The trials and tribulations of Cinderella or Tejimalā have a human value and therefore are instructive, while the fantastic elements in her career serve to hold the attention of the child in us. The transformation of a human being into a bird or flower points to a mentality which once conceived that a common or similar life bound together the inanimate and the animate in nature. On such an imagination grew up ideas of totemism.

P. Goswami.

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MISCELLANY

Identification of Kuntala and Aśmaka Countries

In a note published in *IHQ.*, XXII, 309 f. I pointed out that Kuntala in ancient times comprised not only the North Kanara District and parts of Mysore State and Belgaon and Dharwar Districts, but also the upper and central valleys of the Kṛṣṇā where the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Mānāṅka and his descendants were ruling in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. In his reply in this journal (XXIII, 65 f.) Dr. Sircar says that Dr. Fleet and himself had expressed practically the same view. If so, I would say, with Ānandavardhana, अयत्नसम्पन्नसमीहितार्थाः सम्पन्नाः स्मः । (I have gained my object without any effort).

Dr. Sircar has, however, subsequently modified his statement. He says that the Kuntala country proper lay in the heart of the Kanarese area and only later on it signified the gigantic (?) Kuntala or Kanarese empire of later times. The only evidence that he has adduced to prove this view is that a record of the 11th century A.D. describes Vanavāsī as an ornament of the Kuntala country. I wonder how this proves that the country round Vanavāsī was the *original* Kuntala. It only shows that the district of Vanavāsī was included in the country of Kuntala in the 11th century A.D.

That Kuntala comprised what we now call the Southern Maratha country from very early times and not only in a later age should be clear from the evidence of the *Mahābhārata, Vāyupurāṇa, Daśakumāracarita, Bālarāmāyaṇa, Kāvyamīmāṃsā* and *Udayasundarīkathā,* detailed in my note. None of these works is later than the 11th century A.D., while some of them belong to a time not far removed from the age of Mānāṅka. Of the aforementioned works, the first three clearly show that Vanavāsī in early times lay outside the limits of Kuntala, while the others indicate that the northern boundary of Kuntala stretched to the Godāvarī. This was certainly not because the Kanarese empire of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Later Cālukyas extended to that river. In fact the empires of these dynasties extended much farther in the north and comprised Northern Mahārāṣṭra and Vidarbha also, but these latter countries are nowhere included in Kuntala. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Cālukyas are called rulers of

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Kuntala because their capitals Mānyakheṭa and Kalyāṇa were situated in that country between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī, more than two hundred miles north by east of Vanavāsī, the supposed heart of the Kuntala country. These rulers were called Karṇāṭa, because they spoke the Kanarese language. This does not prove that Kanarese was the language of the *whole* Kuntala country *in all ages*. Otherwise, Hāla, the author of the *Sattasaī* composed in the Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit, who had his capital at Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godāvarī, would not have been called the lord of Kuntala.

Dr Sircar asks, 'What can then be the objection if *śrīmat-Kuntalānāṃ praśāsitā* is translated 'the chastiser of the illustrious Kuntala people?'[1] The first objection is that Mānāṅka, who as shown above was ruling over Kuntala, cannot be supposed to have chastised his own people! Secondly, I would draw Dr. Sircar's attention to the difference in the wording of the two expressions *sa-Vidarbh-Āśmaka-vijetā* and *śrīmat-Kuntalānāṃ praśāstā* which occur in the description of Mānāṅka. There is evidently a contrast intended here between Vidarbha and Aśmaka on the one hand which Mānāṅka conquered and Kuntala on the other over which he ruled. The addition of *śrīmat* meaning 'glorious' or 'prosperous' to the name of Kuntala points in the same direction. Thirdly, I should like to know a single instance of √*praśās* being used in the sense of the chastisement of a whole people.

Finally, Dr. Sircar says that Vatsagulma appears to have been sometimes a part of Aśmaka and sometimes a part of Vidarbha. I have already cited a passage from Rājaśekhara to show that Vatsagulma was included in Vidarbha. That the surrounding country was also included in Vidarbha would be clear from the description in the *Ganeśapurāṇa* that Kadambapura (modern Kaḷamb[2] in the adjoining Yeotmal District) was situated in Vidar-

1 Dr. Sircar takes *Kuntalānām* in this passage to mean the people of Kuntala' and refers to *Surāṣṭra* in verse 11 of the Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta as a similar case. But even in the latter passage *yo me praśiṣyān-nikhilān-Surāṣṭrān* (*G.I.*, p. 62) which Fleet translated as 'who shall govern all my (*countries of the*) *Surāṣṭras*,' the word *Surāṣṭrān* has to be taken to mean the country and not the people of Surāṣṭra, the sense being 'who shall govern my whole country of Surāṣṭra.' The plural number misled Fleet into supposing that there were several countries of the people called Surāṣṭras. In Sanskrit the names of countries are always used in the plural except when some word like *viṣaya* or *deśa* is added to them.

2 Kaḷamb even now contains a famous temple of Ganeśa under the name of Cintāmaṇi.

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bha. I should like to know the evidence which indicates that the Vatsagulma country was a part of Aśmaka. That the Nanded-Nizamabad area (which Dr. Sircar takes to be ancient Aśmaka) lay immediately to the south of the Vatsagulma country is no argument. It is more probable that that area also was like Vatsagulma included in Vidarbha. The identification of the Nanded-Nizamabad area with ancient Aśmaka is at best conjectural, being based on the uncertain equation of Paudanya or Potana with Bodhan near Nizamabad. No details about the situation of Potana are available which could have enabled us to identify it with certainty. It appears more probable that Aśmaka lay directly to the south of Mūlaka (Aurangabad District) for the pupils of Bāveru who was living in Aśmaka are said to have gone to Pratṣṭhāna in the first stage of their journey to the north. If they had been staying in the Nanded-Nizamabad area they would have taken the route via Nāndīkaṭa (Nānded) and Vatsagulma (Bāsim), instead of going to Praṭiṣṭhāna (Paiṭhān) which lay at a considerable distance to the west. Aśmaka does not therefore appear to have been identical with the Nanded-Nizamabad area. The latter was under the direct sway of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma and was evidently included in Vidarbha.

V. V. Mirashi

Kālikā Purāṇa—a compilation of the time of Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa

Śrī K. L. Barua while dicussing the date of the *Kālikāpurāṇ* observes: "It would not be quite unreasonable to suppose that the *Kālikāpurāṇa* was compiled during his (Dharmapāla's) reign and perhaps under his auspices".[1] The proof adduced in support of his contention is uncertain and inadequate. An attempt is made here to test the correctness of his opinion by certain internal evidences of the *Purāṇa* itself.

As regards the Kāmarūpa origin of this *Purāṇa* there is hardly any ground for doubt. The internal evidences of the text itself are sufficiently strong for its probable date. That the *Purāṇa* was late in its origin is proved by the fact that it refers to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*,[2]

1 *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 164. 2 *Kālikāpurāṇa*, 88.71; 89.2.

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a text of the 9th century. The inscriptions of Kāmarūpa hitherto found have to say nothing about the goddess Kāmākhyā or of her shrine on the Nīlakūṭa hill with which our *Purāṇa* is wholly occupied. The river Lauhitya occupies a prominent place in some of the inscriptions and it is mentioned with sufficient veneration. The difference between this *Purāṇa* and one of the inscriptions of Indrapāla in explaining the name 'Lauhitya' is therefore significant. The second inscription of Indrapāla etymologically explains that the river is called Lauhitya because its waters were stained with the copious blood of the Kṣatriyas. The *Kālikāpurāṇa* offers quite a different explanation. According to it, the river came to be called Lauhitya because it originated from the Lake Lohita.[3] Evidently the composer of the inscription depended on an earlier legend and had no knowledge of the *Kālikāpurāṇa*.

The *Purāṇa* gives an account of the *pīṭhas* in Kāmarūpa with their locations (Chs. 77-79). While giving fuller descriptions of the sacred places on the southern side of the Brahmaputra, especially those around the Kāmākhyā hill, it deals only superficially with the northern bank of the river. It makes no mention of the huge temple of Hāṭaka Śūlin so enthusiastically recorded as a great achievement in the inscription of Vanamāladeva[4] (9th century). Considering the zeal with which the *Purāṇa* makes mention of sacred shrines of Śiva, it seems unlikely that it would have passed over this important place of Śiva worship of the 9th century, had it been known to its author. What is most likely is that the temple of Hāṭaka Śūlin became then a thing of the past or sank into insignificance. The *Purāṇa* must have been compiled after the capital of Kāmarūpa was shifted from Hāruppeśvara to Durjayā on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra.

The *Purāṇa* actually makes a passing notice of a city near a hill called Durjaya with a shrine of Bhairava (79. 156-161). From the description it appears that the hill and the city on its slope lay further east of the Citrakūṭa (modern Navagraha hill). There was on the top of the hill a Bhairava sprung from the middle part of the body of Śarabha,[5] a form assumed by Śiva.[6] The

3 *K.P.* 83-33.
4 *Kām. Śās.*, p. 62.
5 Śarabha, a legendary animal with eight feet.
6 The story is narrated in Chs. 31, 35.

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Bhairava, according to the *Purāṇa*, should be worshipped with rites enjoined for the worship of Kāmeśvara. Now while giving a description of the city of Durjayā, the inscriptions of Ratnapāla bring a comparison with the Mt. Kailāsa in so far as it is an abode of Śiva (कैलासगिरिशिखरमिवपरमेश्वराधिष्ठानम्). If we take this city by the side of the Durjaya hill of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* as the city of Durjayā of the inscriptions, then of course, the date of the *Purāṇa* comes down to the time of Ratnapāla during which the city grew into prominence, but as we shall see presently, it comes further down.

On the topmost part of the Kāmākhyā hill there is the temple of Bhuvaneśvarī. Another epithet of Bhuvaneśvarī is Mahāgaurī.[7] The Bhairava attached to Mahāgaurī or Bhuvaneśvarī is Mahābhairava who sprang from the middle part of the body of Mahādeva in his Śarabha form.[8] This makes both the Bhairavas identical. The association of Mahāgaurī with Mahābhairava sprung from the body of Śarabha who seems to be identical with the Bhairava at the Durjaya hill who in turn again is associated with Kāmeśvara in respect of the rules of worship, is significant. It may be that when Durjayā was abandoned for some reason or other by Dharmapāla, Mahāgaurī and Kāmeśvara were brought to the top of the Kāmākhyā hill and installed there, or the *piṭha* and the Bhairava installed there had their prototype at Durjayā. In any case Durjayā and her presiding deity lost their former glory during the time when the *Kālikāpurāṇa* was compiled.

It is evident that the *Kālikāpurāṇa* was compiled to extol the glory of Kāmākhyā and to determine her position in the Śākta pantheon. This must have synchronized with the renovation, if not the beginning, of the worship of Kāmākhyā. There is a tradition among the Bāsattariyā Brahman families of lower Assam that their ancestors were settled by Dharmapāla with land grants and that it was for the purpose of conducting the worship of Kāmākhyā. There are still several Brāhman families of the 'Bāsattariya' group

7 महागौरि तु या देवी योगिनी सिद्धरूपिणी
सा ब्रह्मपर्वते चास्ते सिलारूपेण चोर्द्धतः
अतीव रूपसम्पन्ना नाम्ना सा भुवनेश्वरी । *K.P.* 62-127.

8 *Ibid.*, 62-124.

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among the colony of Pāṇḍās on the hill around the temple. This tradition is quite old.

There is nothing to doubt the truth of the tradition. The *Kālikāpurāṇa* in all probability was compiled during the reign of Dharmapāla. The covert allusion to the patron king Dharmapāla in the *mantra* employed for consecration of the sound meant for the human sacrifice is not improbable. In fact, a whole chapter is devoted to the eulogy of Dharma (ch. 28). Frequent *śleṣa* on the word *Dharma* can be detected. The most interesting matter in this chapter is that some of its passages bear a close comparison with a few in the inscriptions of Dharmapāla. Strangely enough, this is the shortest chapter in the *Purāṇa* consisting only of sixteen verses and its connection with the context is rather loose. We give below some of the instances of *śleṣa* on the word Dharma:

सारं तत्त्वं परमं निष्कलंय
न्मूर्त्या होनं मूर्त्तिमान् धर्म एषः
सारोऽन्योऽसौ सारहीनं तदन्यज्—28. 16

Here Dharma is characterised as the second reality having a form which may be taken as meaning Dharmapāla the embodiment of Dharma. Again in the line सारो द्वितीयो धर्म्मस्तु यो नित्यप्राप्तये भवेत् (28. 7), there is a *śleṣa* in the words धर्म्म and नित्यप्राप्तये which may be construed as Dharma (the king) the second reality from whom proceed gifts everyday.

The following passages from the inscription of Dharmapāla and the *Kālikāpurāṇa* may be profitably compared:

Inscription

नृपोऽभवत् धर्म्मपाल इति
सान्वयोहृद्यः
(*Kām. Śās.* p. 177)

Kālikāpurāṇa

धर्म्मश्चतुष्पाद् भगवान् जगत्
पालयतेऽनिशम्
(28. 12)

Dharma catuṣpad—Dharma—consisting of four parts—तपः, शौचं, दया, सत्यम्.

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Inscription	*Kālikāpurāṇa*
	Dharma catuṣpad – king Dharma dispenser of justice with the four processes (catuṣpad) आवेदनम्, प्रतिज्ञा, प्रत्याकलितं, निर्णयः ।
धर्म्मपाल इति धर्म्मपरोऽपि काममर्थञ्च पालयति ।	इतरे तु त्रयो धर्म्माज्जायन्तेऽर्था-दयोऽपरे ।
(*Ibid.* p. 153)	(28. 9)
विद्युच्छटाचपलराज्यमृषाभिमान स्ताज्यः कदाचिदपि नित्यसुखो न धर्म्मः	वरं प्राणपरित्यागः शिरसो वाथ कर्तनम् न तु धर्म्मपरित्यागो लोके वेदे च गर्हितः ।
(*Ibid.* p. 173)	(28. 10)

These clearly point to some connection of Dharmapāla with the compilation of the *Kālikāpurāṇa*. Dharmapāla's reign falls at the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th and this was the time when the *Kālikāpurāṇa* was compiled.

This date may tally with the evidences adduced by P. K. Gode for fixing A.D. 1000 as the limit before which the *Purāṇa* was composed (*Journal of Oriental Research Society*, vol. X. pp. 289-294). The earliest reference to the *Kālikāpurāṇa* found by Prof. Gode is in the *Bharatabhāṣya* of king Nānyadeva who is identified with king Nānyadeva of Mithilā (A. D. 1097-1133). This makes Nānyadeva a junior contemporary of Dharmapāla if the identification is correct. Considering the constant communication of Kāmarūpa with Mithilā from the earliest times, it is not impossible that the *Kālikāpurāṇa* should have been known in Mithilā within the quarter of a century of its compilation. Bāsattarīyā Brāhman families in Assam came probably from Mithilā which was famous for Tantricism at that time. The story in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* that Naraka was an adopted son of king Janaka of Mithilā is interesting in this respect. The story is evidently an invention of the *Purāṇa*, and most probably the purpose of the invention was to establish some connection of Kāmarūpa with Mithilā. Perhaps the ancestors of the Bāsattarīyā (seventy two) Brāhmans themselves had hand in compiling the Purāṇa.

TIRTHANATH SARMA

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Lord Hastings' "Summary of Administration" with Low's Comments

During his voyage home in 1823, Lord Hastings prepared a survey of his administration in India. A copy of it was sent from Gibralter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company and in 1824 printed by order of the Company under the title, *Operations in India with their results from the 30th April 1814 to the 1st January 1823*. In the same year, it was reissued by the friends of Marquess of Hastings "with a view to the information of the Proprietors of India stock." The text remained almost the same, but a new title was given to it and it was called *Summary of the Administration of the Indian Government from October 1813 to January 1823*. This book is now difficult to find, but in the Imperial Library, Calcutta, there are two copies. One copy which is defective and wrongly described in the printed catalogue as a work of Warren Hastings, will be of interest to historians.

About twelve years ago, I first came across this copy and noticed certain remarks in the margin. A reader, it appeared, evidently did not find it always easy to agree with many of the Governor-General's statements. The annotations were by some one who obviously had first hand knowledge of the politics of India and was able sometimes to correct the text. He was a contemporary of Marquess of Hastings and played some part in shaping the history of the country. Except on page 58, the remarks are anonymous but on the top of that page he referred to a conversation he had with Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1824, and signed his name as J. Low.[1] On the same page, while criticising British attitude towards the Maratha states he again put down his initials. It became obvious that the author of these notes should be identified with John Low the well known general and administrator.

John Low came to India in 1805. In 1812, he became Persian interpreter and head of the intelligence staff in the South Maratha country. In 1818, he acted as a political assistant to Malcolm and played an important part in the surrender of the Peshwa after the battle of Ashti. He was then appointed Commissioner with the ex-Peshwa at Bithur

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where he served for six years. He next became the political agent at Jaipur. In 1830, he was sent to Gwalior and next year was made the Resident at Lucknow. Low went home in 1842 and returned five years later. He was appointed the Governor-General's agent in Rajputana and Commissioner at Ajmer-Marwara. In 1852 he became the Resident at Hyderabad. He rendered valuable services to the Company during the difficult days of 1858, and finally left India in 1874.

It is difficult to find a man with wider experience of Indian affairs and it will be interesting to note some of the cases where Low differed from the opinions expressed by the Governor-General. Lord Hastings discussed the possibilities of incurring the hostilities of the Marathas when he declared war against the Pindaris. "I saw the intimacy of connexion between the Pindarries and Mahrattas, so distinctly, as to be certain that an attempt to destroy the former must infalliably engage us in our war with the whole body of the latter" (page 8.) Low, however, did not quite agree with this, and commented "not quite so distinctly or he would not have withdrawn the troops from Poona."[2] Low also made light of the Governor General's difficulties of getting his measures against the Pindaris approved by the Council. Lord Hastings wrote, when he proposed a "remonstrance" to Sindhia's Court "on the scare of the Pindaries being permitted to arrange within the Maharajah's dominions, the preparations for assailing the Honourable Company's provinces, he was told that "a remonstrance of the above nature might be offensive to Scindiah, and that nothing ought to be ventured which could give him umbrage" (page 9). Low thought that the Governor-General had given an exaggerated idea of his difficulties. He pointed out that the objection to Lord Hastings' proposal "was made by Mr. Dodswell, a man always weak in intellect and then in his dotage! Thus tho' Lord Hastings has not stated an untruth, yet he has given the public to understand that this was a serious representation from his Council which was far from the fact as not one of the other councillors joined in the hasty opinion expressed by the Dowdswell (sic)![3] Dodswell, to whom Low refers, appears to be George Dodswell who finds a place in the *List of Bengal Civil Servants* by Dodwell and Miles. Dodswell entered the service of the East India Company in 1783, was appointed Chief Secretary to the Government in 1812 and in 1814 became a mem-

2 Plate I. 3 Plate II.

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that ever afflicted humanity, be set aside, still the task of dispersing an association, whose existence was irreconcileable to our ultimate security, as well as to our more immediate interests, seemed to me not capable of being long postponed. At the same time, I saw the intimacy of connexion between the Pindarries and the Mahrattas, so distinctly, as to be certain that an attempt to destroy the former, must infallibly engage us in war with the whole body of the latter. While the extreme effort was delayed, which our entanglements in other quarters made unavoidable, it was desirable to impose some check upon the plunderers. The

PLATE I

the then existence of a relative position, which could occasion my being met in council, by a representation, that a remonstrance of the above nature might be offensive to Scindiah, and that nothing ought to be ventured which could give him umbrage. Such, however, was at that period on either side the estimate of British power.

This introduction, though longer than I could have wished, was necessary to render our circumstances at that crisis accurately intelligible. There was especially a necessity to explain why, when a surplus of revenue had been actually exhibited, it had no permanence. The delusiveness of the principle on which such a surplus had for the

PLATE II

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repugnant to policy than to equity. On my professing a disposition to correct so objectionable a course, those officers (who had been long in the Nawab Vizier's service) assured me that any persuasion of my having such an inclination would cause Saadat Ali to throw himself upon me with unbounded confidence; and to offer from his immense hoard, the advance of any sum I could want for the enterprize against Nepaul. The gratitude with which such a supply would be felt was professed. While I was on my passage up the Ganges, Saadat Ali unexpectedly died. I found, however, that what had been provisionally agitated by him was perfectly understood by his successor; so that the latter came forward with a spontaneous offer of a crore of rupees, which I declined, as a peishcush or tribute on his accession to the sovereignty of Oude; but accepted as a loan for the Honourable Company. Eight lacks were afterwards added to this sum, in order that the interest at six per cent. of the whole might equal the allowances to different branches of the Nawab Vizier's family, for which the guarantee of the British Government

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was accommodated with above two millions and a half sterling on my simple receipt.* Particular details of the war in Nepaul would be superfluous; the terms on which it closed will suffice. That State, instead of flanking, as it had done for nearly six hundred miles, our open frontier or that of the Nawab Vizier, which we were bound to defend, while itself could only be attacked in front, was reduced to about a half of its original extent; remaining with both its flanks exposed to us, through the connexion which we formed with the Rajah to the east, and our possessions of Kemaoun to the west. The richest portion of the territory conquered by us bordered on the dominions of the Nawab Vizier. I arranged the transfer of that track to him, in extinction of the second crore. The charges of the war absorbed fifty-two lacs; forty-eight lacs (£600,000) were consequently left in the treasury a clear gain to the Honourable Company, in addition to the benefit of precluding future annoyance from an insolent neighbour.

While the war was raging in the mountains, my attention was anxiously fixed upon our southern

+ after the virgin part being completely
[illegible] with connexion, the dominions Aumaun
[illegible] many months, + the virgin territory
[illegible] the extent [illegible]
Aumaun [illegible] not [illegible]
[illegible]

* This was really such Marquess - & Thackeray that the Marquis has in this instance obtained [illegible] that plain truth. —

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aid in fixing the fundamental rules of their government. Confined to their capitals, as they had nearly been for years, through the fear of being cut off by some predatory leader, or by some of their own refractory vassals, they were conscious of inability to restore order in their disorganized dominions; and they frankly invited advice, which, according to my directions, was in every case so respectfully tendered by the British agent, as not to hazard a wound to pride. Thence it was easy, where no acknowledged usages stood in the way, to establish principles between the sovereign and the subject advantageous to both, giving to those principles a defined line of practical application, a departure from which would afford to either party a right of claiming the intervention of our paramount power.

While the sovereign had his legitimate authority and his due revenue insured to him, the subject was protected against illicit exaction or

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foot; among whom he administers justice in all cases not capital.+ Beyond his allowance of one hundred thousand pounds yearly, he is in possession of several camel loads of treasure which have never been examined, so that he and his two wives can display any degree of splendour they may wish to exhibit. In short, his situation

+ not true at the time this was written —

with the greatest ease, at the Elphinstone himself informed me in 1824
J. Low

ever, presented itself: we had experienced in the conduct of Toolsye Bhye+ (the Regent of Holkar's State), and in that of Appa Saheb, Rajah of Nagpore, that no acts of personal kindness, no obligations of plighted faith, no conviction of almost inevitable ruin, could weigh with Mahratta chiefs against the professed bond of obedience to the head of their tribe. It was evident that were such an ostensible superiority to be revived, any compact with Mahratta princes must be nugatory towards the future tranquillity of India. It was indispensable to divorce those sovereigns from acknowledged community of interest. To have put the Sattara family in possession of the Poonah dominions, would have been to create a new leader of the Mahratta confederacy, in whom would have rested all that influence which we

++ we had received no kindness whatever from this Princess! We had it not in our power indeed to do so; Mr Malcolm not in country at that time with the Holkar's State —
J. L.

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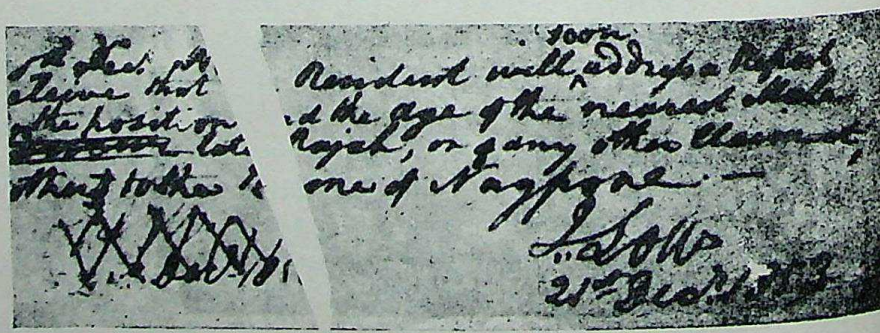
'the British Resident stationed at his court under the pledge of his protection. This criminality of Bajee Rao's was aggravated by the murder in cold blood of British officers who were travelling in his dominions, without suspicion of impending rupture.† A more imperious consideration, how-

PLATE VIII



A SPECIMEN OF SIR JOHN LOW'S SIGNATURE
POL CONS. 24 MARCH, 1854. NO. 154

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ber of the Supreme Council. He should not be very old at the time of the Anglo-Maratha war and not certainly at his dotage.

Lord Hastings' account of the murder of two British officers in Peshwa Baji Rao's dominion was also questioned by Low. "The Peshwa Baji Rao," Lord Hastings wrote, could never be trusted, "after his original perfidy in unprovokedly forming a wide conspiracy for the extirpation of the British, and after his subsequent attempt to overwhelm and massacre the British Resident stationed at his Court.....This criminality of Baji Rao's was aggravated by the murder in cold blood of British officers who were travelling in his dominions, without suspicion of impending rupture." (page 57). In the last sentence the Governor-General was probably referring to the fate of Captain Vaughan and his brother. Low did not agree with this. He described Lord Hastings' statement as "not true" and recorded that "Mr. Elphinstone proved in 1819 most satisfactorily that the murders of the two gentlemen alluded to were committed by men not in the Paishwah's service and without his knowledge—first crimes have been committed in our own provinces. If the Paishwah had wished to commit such crimes he could have murdered the Resident with the greatest ease as Mr. Elphinstone himself informed me in 1842."[4]

The Governor-General's statement that at Bithur the ex Peshwa administered justice over his guards "in all cases not capital," (page 59) was also the subject of criticism. Low noted that it was "not true at the time this was written"[5] and he appears to be correct. It was not till 1832 that a regulation was passed which empowered Baji Rao to administer civil and criminal justice to the inhabitants of his jagir, subject to such control as might be prescribed by the Governor-General in Council. Before that, the ex-Peshwa exercised only a limited power over his followers which rested on convention and very much depended on the pleasure of the Commissioner and the authorities at Cawnpore. During this period Baji Rao was allowed "to punish petty offences amongst his followers in his own way," provided the punishments were commensurate with the offences committed and did not "extend to life or limb."[6]

From 1831 for about eleven years Low was the Resident at Lucknow and he found it difficult to agree to many of the statements of Lord

4 Plates VI, VII.
5 Plate VIII.
6 Bengal Regulation I of 1832.

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Hastings regarding Oudh. In 1814, Nawab Sadat Ali died leaving a huge fortune to his successor Ghazi-ud-din Haidar. In the same year, one crore of rupees was borrowed from him by the Governor-General for the Nepal war. As most of this was spent on other account, another crore was advanced by the Nawab. Lord Hastings referred to it in his *Private Journal*. The Nawab Vizier "begged leave to offer a present of a crore of rupees to the Honourable Company. This was expected by me. I know that his father had intended to make this offer.....The Resident had given me a hint that the present Nawab, aware of his father's intention, had mentioned his purpose of carrying it into effect."[7] In his *Summary of Administration* Lord Hastings made a similar statement: "Soon after my arrival in India, some British officers came to me from Nawab Vizier Saadat Ali, Sovereign of Oude, bringing to me a representation of the painful and degrading thraldom in which, through gradual and probably unintended encroachment on his freedom, he was held, inconsistently with the spirit of the treaty between the two States... On my professing a disposition to correct so objectionable a course, those officers.....assured me that any persuasion of my having such an inclination would cause Saadat Ali to throw himself upon me with unbounded confidence; and would offer from his immense hoard, the advance of any sum I could want for the enterprise against Nepaul" (page 12). During the Governor-General's tour in the Upper Provinces in 1814, Saadat Ali "unexpectedly died," but Lord Hastings found that what had been provisionally agitated by him was perfectly understood by his successor; so that the latter came forward "with a spontaneous offer of a crore of rupees," which he "accepted as a loan for the Honourable Company." (page 13). To this statement Low commented—"spontaneous indeed! The Resident was ordered to advise the King to make the offer." Saadat Ali was not on speaking terms with his successor."[8] About the second instalment of loan Lord Hastings stated that he was "upon such frank terms with the Nawab-Vizier, that he could explain to him" his circumstances, and the Nawab "agreed to furnish another crore" (page 14). Low completely disagreed with this and remarked that the money was paid only "after the Vizier had been bullied into consent, the discussions having lasted many weeks, the Vizier having again and again

7 Hastings, *Private Journal* (1907), p. 99.
8 Plate III.

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expressed the utmost reluctance to part with his money.[9] The offer does not seem to be as spontaneous as is stated. On 29 April 1815, John Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, wrote to the Chief Secretary "I was instructed by his Lordship's Secretary, Mr. Ricketts, to open a negotiation with the Wazier, for the loan of a crore of rupees to the Honourable Company to appear as a voluntary offer."[10]

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, the British policy towards the Indian states underwent considerable change. It has been said of Low that he was one of those who "carried the spirit of earlier generous days into the annexationist regime of Lord Dalhousie." Even in his younger days he did not find it easy to agree with some of the views of Lord Hastings towards Indian states. Lord Hastings' statement that the feudatory states "unfeignedly resort" to the British Government "for aid in fixing the fundamental rules of their government" (page 48) he described as "fudge."[11] According to Lord Hastings, it was quite common for the states to invite British advice and its result was "to establish principles between the sovereign and subject advantageous to both, giving to those principles a defined line of practical application, a departure from which would afford to either party a right of claiming the intervention of our paramount power" (page 48). Low found this opposed to fact and remarked that "on the contrary, it is expressly in all the treaties with the Rajpoot states that we shall not interfere at all in the interior management of those countries, that the Rajahs have exclusive power over their subjects."[12]

In this paper, I have selected only a few specimens but there are others which would appear equally interesting. Since Lord Hastings wrote his *Summary of Administration* intensive work has been done on many aspects of his government, and the historian today will find many of Low's observations more acceptable than those of the Governor-General. The chief interest of these remarks is, however that they give an insight into the working of Low's mind. It is not always that a government official keeps on record what he feels about the politics of the day, and Low evidently had no idea that his commentary on the

9 Plate IV.

10 Oude papers, Baillie to Adam, quoted in *Lord Hastings and the Indian States* (Mehta), p. 170.

11 Plate V.

12 Plaate V.

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events of his time might be brought to light one day. It is a pity we do not have a selection of Low's political writings. The story of his life written by his grand-daughter is excellent in many ways but concerns itself more with family affairs than anything else. In many of his letters Low preferred to remain in the background. Referring to the *Legum's* insurrection at Lucknow in 1837 and the part he played, Low wrote to his mother "it is better that nothing more should be said about my proceedings at L., unless in chat *among ourselves* by the fireside."[13]

During the war, the copy of Hastings' *Summary of Administration* along with other old publications was sent out of Calcutta for safe custody. This volume has now been rebound and the Press mark altered. It is lucky that ends have not been trimmed and the notes in the margin have been preserved. It is not for me to suggest if the book should be taken out of circulation, but one can only hope that proper measures should be taken for its preservation. The habit of writing notes on the pages of a book was more frequent in the last century and persons who are interested in old publications sometimes come across scribbles in the margin of a book. But a prize like this is not easy to find, for one hardly expects to come across a work written by one of the most well known administrators of India commented on by one of the ablest officers of the time.*

PRATUL C GUPTA

Prabodhasiddhi-Nibandha of Vāmeśvaradhvaja

We add the following notes throwing light on the important discovery of a new commentary on the Nyāya philosophy made by Mr. Sarma (*I.H.Q.*, XXII, pp. 56-7). The name of the commentary as given in the colophon is not *Prabodhasiddhi* (or *Nyāyapariśiṣṭa*), but *Prabodhasiddhi-* (or *Nyāyapariśiṣṭa-*) *Nibandha* and it is a commentary on the well known work of Udayanācārya named *Prabodhasiddhi* or *Nyāyapariśiṣṭa*, which has been published in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series (No. XXII) with the commentary of Vardhamāna (edited by Prof. N. C. Vedāntatīrtha, 1938). All the words of the original text found in

13 Low, *Fifty years with John Company*, p. 197.

* Read in the tenth session of the Indian History Congress. Plates published by kind permission of the authorities, Imperial Library, Calcutta, and National Archives of India, New Delhi.

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the extracts given by Mr. Sarma can be traced in the above work of Udayanācārya. Thus,

fol. 1 is a gloss on p. 62 of the text (read सेत्यमिति for स यमिति) ;
fol. 3 is a gloss on pp. 58-9 of the text;
fol. 5 is a gloss on p. 68 of the text;
fol. 6 is a gloss on pp. 71-2 & 75 77 of the text.

The author of this commentary *Vāmeśvaradhvaja* or *Vāmadhvaja* also wrote a commentary on the *Kusumāñjali* of Udayanācārya, of which a complete copy was discovered in a Jaina Bhandar of Pattana (*vide Des. Cat. of Mss.*, Jaina Bhandars of Pattana, G.O.S. No. LXXVI, vol. I, pp.103-4 & Introd. p. 44). The name of this commentary is also stated in the colophons as 'Nibandha' (or Nibandhana) and the copy was written by a scholar of Mithila for the son of a certain Mahāmahopādhyāya Stalemāṇi (?) Miśra at the city of 'Causā' ruled by a prince named Yuvarājadeva. The author is stated to have been a disciple of one Virūpākṣa.

We should mention in this connection that Udayana's *Nyāyapariśiṣṭa* is an elaborate commentary on only the fifth chapter of the *Nyāyasūtra*, the most intricate portion of the book and is quite distinct and separate from Udayana's *Tātparya-Pariśuddhi*, which is a sub-commentary on Vācaspati's *Tātparyaṭīkā*. The contention that the former is 'in extension to the *Pariśuddhi* under a different title' and Udayana wrote the latter to the extent of first four chapters only of the *Nyāyasūtra* (*Nyāyapariśiṣṭa*, Introd., pp. 12-3) is not correct, The *Pariśuddhi* actually covered the fifth chapter of the book also and was in the nature of short notes on Vācaspati's *Tātparyaṭīkā*. Vardhamāna refers to this portion of the *Pariśuddhi* in the *Pariśiṣṭaprakāśa* (p. 39). There is a Ms. copy of the fifth chapter of the *Pariśuddhi* at Tanjore (Ms. No. 6005, complete in foll. 15: *Des. Cat.* p. 4487), which begins with the beautiful invocation :— रागादागतसंभेदौ चारुसुग्र्यानलेक्षणौ ।
नमामि गिरिजेशानौ यामिनीवासराविव ॥

Another copy of the same chapter was discovered in the Darbar Library at Nepal (number of foll. 24); it was written in the year 403 of the Lakṣmaṇa Samvat (i.e. 1521 A.D. or earlier) at the request of a Bengali scholar named Vāṇīnātha Bhaṭṭācārya (H. P. Śāstrī: *Nepal Cat.*, vol. I, pp. 47-8).

Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya

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Sārasvatasūtranirṇaya of Nārāyaṇa Sādhu

We are not yet sure of the number of Sūtras in the original *Sārasvatasūtrapāṭha*. It is usually believed to be seven hundred. Giving this number in his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (p. 92) Dr. S. K. Belvalkar adds in a note:

Seven hundred sūtras—i.e., in the original *sūtrapāṭha* of the school. This assertion is made on the basis of the Deccan College Ms. no. 239 of 1892-95, which gives 597 mūlasūtras plus 91 more vārtikas or vaktavyas, thus reaching the total of 658. The original order of the sūtras seems to be preserved in this Ms. alone; other Mss. usually follow the order of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya in his *Sārasvata-prakriyā*. Thus in two Mss. of the Deccan College Collection (no. 257 of 1895 98 and no. 210 of A. 1882-83) the total number of sūtras is nearly 890. including some sūtras which occur twice and some vārtikas distinctly given by Anubhūtisvarūpācārya as such. We have in fact to distinguish clearly between the *Sārasvatamūlasūtrapāṭha* and the *Sārasvataprakriyāsūtrapāṭha*."

In the Anup Sanskrit Library there is a work called *Sārasvatasūtranirṇaya* or *Anuvṛttyavabodhaka* by *Nārāyaṇasādhu*. It was composed in the beginning of the 17th century. It gives the original number of Sūtras as 616 out of 700, the remaining being Vaktavyas or Vārtikas. The work is valuable inasmuch as it represents a tradition current in the 16th and 17th centuries. It recapitulates the Sūtras in each section and thus helps us to distinguish the original sūtras from later interpolations.

So far as I know this is the only copy of the work now known to exist and it has not hitherto received a notice. The work was composed in Ḍīḍvāṇa in Marwar in Saṃvat भुवनशिलीमुखपदरसचन्द्राङ्कमित (1667).

The Ms. is numbered 5830 and has 12 folios, with 14-15 lines in a page and 48 syllables in a line of well written Devanāgarī . Its condition is good.

Beginning:

श्रीपार्श्वं जिनपं सुरेन्द्रमहितं वृन्दारकैर्वन्दितं
व्यापादै रहितं जगत्सुविदितं नत्वा शरण्यं मुदा ।

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अज्ञानत्वतमो विदारणविधिप्रद्योतन श्रीगुरून्
वन्द्यानिन्द्यतया विधाय हृदये श्रीभारतीं भामतीम् ॥१॥
सारस्वतस्य शास्त्रस्य सूत्राणामनुवृत्तयः ।
क्रियन्ते हि मया स्पष्टा यथोक्ताः पूर्वसूरिभिः ॥२॥

End: सर्वाणि सूत्राणि षट्शतषोडशसंख्यानि ।
यदुक्तम्—वक्रव्यैकलकरणे खखाश्वप्रमितानि ।
सूत्रसप्तशतं यस्मै ददौ साक्षात्सरस्वती ।
अनुभूतिस्वरूपाय तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥
इति ।
संवद्भुवनशिलीमुखपदरसचन्द्राङ्कमितसुपरिवर्षे ।
अश्वयुजर्जुनदशमीतिथौ पुरे डिरडुवाणाख्ये ॥
श्रीमत्खरतरगच्छे श्रीमज्जिनभद्रसूरिशाखायाम् ।
श्रीसाधुकीर्तिपाठक तल्क ज्जा विविदिरे वन्द्याः ॥
पुण्यसौजन्यपुण्याः श्रीमद्वरमहिमसुन्दरगणीशाः ॥
दुर्मतिमत्तमतङ्गजविद्रुमपाटनहृद्यहर्यक्षाः ॥
तदा हि पङ्केरुहचञ्चरीको व्यधत्त नारायणसाधुरेतम् ।
यथामति प्राप्तगुरुप्रसादोऽनुवृत्तिबोधं सुगमावबोधम् ॥
ज्ञानमेरोः कृतिर्भुयात् पठनार्थं विनिर्मिता ।
नरसिंहमुनेरेषा पाठकैर्वाचिता चिरम् ॥
इति सारस्वतानुवृत्त्यवबोधकः संपूर्णः ॥

The name Sūtranirṇaya is written in the left hand margin of th reverse of each folio.

K. Madhava Krishna Sarma

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The Authorship of the Paramārthadvādaśikā

(*otherwise called Advayadvādaśikā*)

In Appendix C of his *Abhiñavagupta, An Historical and Philosophical Study* (Chowkhamba Skt. Series Studies, vol. I), Dr. K. C. Pandey has printed the texts of eight minor works under the title "Philosophical Stotras of Abhinava." The second of these is one in thirteen verses in various metres called the "Paramārthadvādaśikā" ascribed to Abhinavagupta.

On p. 63 of his work, while dealing with the works of Abhinavagupta, Dr. Pandey notes that this short work is also known as *Advayadvādaśikā* and that its second verse 'Yadyatattva etc.' is quoted as from the *Advayadvādaśikā* by Ramyadeva in his commentary on Cakrapāṇināṭha's Bhāvopahāra stotra, under verse 45, (Kashmir Texts, 14, p. 45).

In fact Ramyadeva makes two citation at this place,-तदुक्तं मया कृतान्त-तान्तिशान्तिस्तवे' and 'अद्वयद्वादशिकायामपि' and we do not know if we are to suppose the word 'मया' as understood (anuvṛtta) in the second instance also, and take the *Advayadvādaśikā* also as a work of Ramyadeva. Far from being contradicted, such an assumption will be found to be strengthened by the work itself, in whose last verse Ramyadeva is expressly mentioned as the author:

भवीत्थभयभञ्जनं गदशृगालविद्रावणं
प्रबोधधुरि धीमतामपि सकृद्यदुद्दीपनम् ।
सुधामगहनाटवीविहरणातितृप्त्युद्गमाद
अभेदकरिबृंहितं व्यधित **रम्यदेवो** हरिः ॥

V. RAGHAVAN

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REVIEWS

MODERN ORIYA LITERATURE by Priya Ranjan Sen M.A., Lecturer in the Department of English and Modern Indian Languages in the University of Calcutta : pp. 159 (Index, pp. 153-159) : published August 1947.

Oriya is one of the major languages of India, being spoken by some 12 millions of people : 320 out of 10,000 people in India, according to the Census of 1931, spoke Oriya. Oriya forms a member of the Magadhan or Eastern Group of New Indo-Aryan languages, to which belong the Bihari speeches (Bhojpuri, Sadani or Chota Nagpuri, Magahi and Maithil), Assamese and Bengali. Bengali and Assamese are the immediate sisters of Oriya : the relationship among them is almost as close as that between Southern English and Scots English. Of the three speeches, Oriya, Bengali and Assamese, Oriya has preserved a great many archaic features, in both grammar and pronunciation : and it may be said without travesty of linguistic truth that Oriya is the eldest of the three sisters, when we consider the archaic character of the language. As a new Indo-Aryan language, Oriya on the one hand and Bengali, Assamese on the other came into being by about 1000 A.D. The oldest authentic specimen of Oriya is found in an inscription of Vīra Nṛsiṃhadeva II (1249 A.D.), and a great period of Oriya literature started in the 15th century. The Oriya-speaking people formed the most important Hindu state in Eastern India after Bihar and Bengal fell before the onslaught of the Turk in the 12th-13th centuries; the Oriyas were a thorn on the side of the Mohammadan rulers of Bengal, who were of Turki and Pathan origin, in the 14th and 15th centuries, occasionally pushing their successful incursions as far as Triveni above Hughly; and in the 15th-16th centuries, the kings of Orissa built up a great empire extending from South-west Bengal to the heart of the Tamil country. All that glory of the Oriya people, together with their military powers, is a thing of the past; but in an independent India the proved qualities of the people of Orissa, as of other parts of India, will, it may be hoped, once more come to their own, for good of mankind and for the glorification of Mother India.

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The culture of Orissa has enriched the sum-total of the ancient, medieval and modern culture of India in many ways. The art and architecture of Orissa from the Maurya period onwards is one of the glories of India, and the Sanskrit scholarship of Orissa is also noteworthy in the annals of the intellectual achievements of medieval Hindudom. The vernacular literature of Orissa is in its extent and variety quite in the forefront of Indian literatures; and in its totality it presented largely a local idiom of the same pan-Indian speech, so to say. More than any other Modern Indian Language, with the exception perhaps of Malayalam in its *Maṇi-pravālam* style, Oriya has absobred the vocables of Sanskrit, without abandoning its own native Prakritic element. Oriya poets of the 17th-18th centuries revelled in the treasures of the Sanskrit dictionary which they seem to have absorbed *in toto* for their language, and poems like some of those composed by Upendra Bhanja are *tours de force* in the use of Sanskrit words which would be the despair of any other Modern Indian language. But barring the usual translations or adaptations of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and works of a religious and Puranic character which did their great service to the Oriya people in bringing the ancient and medieval thought and culture and romance of the old Hindu world before the masses, besides a number of romances of a stereotyped and artificial character, there was nothing of an outstanding and pan-Indian importance in early Oriya literature, comparable with, for example, the Rajasthani lyrics of Mira Bai, the Hindi poems of Kabir, or the Early Awadhi or Eastern Hindi *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulasidasa. One or two historical romances like the *Kāñci-Kāveri*, however, show a freshness in them and simplicity of execution which inspired in the 19th century a talented Bengali poet like Rangalal Banerji to emulate it in his own mother-tongue. The fullest unfoldment of the Oriya spirit through literature was to come during the second half of the 19th century, and that happened with the quickening of the Oriya intellect through its contact with the literature in its sister-speech Bengali, and with something which was much greater, viz., English literature.

This fascinating subject, that of the development of Modern Oriya literature as something of which both Orissa and India can feel proud, has been taken up by Professor Priyaranjan Sen in the work under review. Prof. Sen is one of the few scholars who are not Oriya-speakers and who have nevertheless studied Oriya to

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good purpose; in fact, his fame as a scholar of the Oriya language and its literature is not confined to Bengal only, he is listened to with respect in Orissa also by scholars who know his work. Prof. Sen has already made successful excursions into the field of European influence in the development of literature in modern India, one result of which is his well-known book in English, *Western Influence on Bengali Literature*. He has taken in hand his survey of the history of literature in present-day Orissa with both knowledge and sympathy; and the result is the present book, the first one of its kind in English, which is of the nature of tribute from a Bengali scholar to the literature in a language which is own sister to his mother-tongue.

The Oriya people were rather unfortunately situated in the early part of the 19th century through a series of events which took place in the 18th. During the 16th-17th centuries, before the final annexation of Orissa to the Mogul empire, Orissa was literally a cock-pit in Eastern India where Mogul and Pathan and local Hindu princes fought for power and for very existence. The decay of Mogul rule at Delhi led to the establishment of the practically independent Nawabship of Bengal during the first quarter of the 18th century, and Orissa was tagged on to it as a back-wood province; but the Marathas from Nagpur made an easy conquest of Orissa, and for some two generations the Oriyas were under Maratha rule. The British took over Orissa from the Marathas in 1803. The Oriya people, not caring for the official Persian language under the Moguls and the Nawabs of Bengal, had to accept the dominance of Bengali officials high as well as petty in most of the departments of the administration and this state of things continued throughout the period of Maratha rule and Early British government. The Oriya language fell into the background like the people itself; and the close agreement of Oriya with Bengali made for a very wide use, to the improper exclusion of Oriya, of Bengali for education and administration. The advent of the Christian Missionaries from the first decade of the 19th century began to prepare ground for a movement among patriotic Oriyas for the rehabilitation of their mother-tongue. The development of an Oriya press from the second half of the 19th century strengthened this movement, and gradually Oriya became mistress in her own home by the end of the third quarter of the 19th century, notwithstanding the sincere if unthinking misgivings of a number of Bengali writers and officials familiar with Oriya who honestly

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believed in the linguistic identity of Oriya and Bengali. The story of missionary activities in Orissa and of the service rendered by the missionaries and the journalists and other literary men to the cause of education and culture as well as linguistic and literary revival in the province have been lucidly put forth in the first two chapters of Prof. Sen's book. In the next three chapters the author has given critical appraisements of the contributions to Oriya literature by the triumvirate in the history of Modern Oriya literature, namely, Radhanath Ray (1848-1908) the father of Modern Oriya Poetry, Madhusudhan Rao (1853-1912) the innovator of a new lyric and a new prose in Oriya, and Phakir Mohan Senapati (1843-1918) the greatest prose-stylist of present-day Oriya. These three great writers embody the spirit of modernism in Oriya literature, and Prof. Sen has succeeded in giving his readers some idea of their special characters, their excellences, and their places in the history of Oriya literature. Three other chapters deal with Dramatic Literatute (Oriya has produced a rich crop of dramas, some of which are of real and abiding merit and interest), with contemporary authors,movements and tendencies, and with a general retrospect. Orissa is now a self-contained province, and the newly-founded University of Utkal will be a centre for the development and expansion of literary and other culture among the Oriya people. A bright future for Oriya literature can thus be easily prognosticated. Among the noteworthy achievements of the Oriya scholars of the present day is to be mentioned the great quadrilingual lexicon of the Oriya language, in Oriya-Oriya-English-Hindi-Bengali,which came out in 7 volumes during 1931-1940, the *Purṇa Chandra Bhasha-Kosha* of the late Gopal Chandra Praharaj. Two appendices bring Prof. Sen's work to a close, one on *Western Influence on Oriya Literature*, and the other on the history of the English School at Puri (1835-1840), which formed the first experiment in bringing the Oriya people into direct contact with English literature, short-lived though this experiment was.

Prof. Sen's book is eminently readable; and although it is quite possible that the treatment could have been made more extensive and that there are errors of omission and commission, and although it is conceivable that the view-point may at times differ from that of critics and students whose mother-tounge is Oriya, it must be admitted that Prof. Sen has performed his task which has been a labour of love for him conscientiously and with a genuine desire to make recent

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literature in an important Indian language better known to the outside world.

I trust the book will be appreciated generally, and this appreciation will be an encouragement for Prof. Sen to continue his labours in this domain.

I think it was quite a happy idea to give quotations from the Oriya authors in a Roman transliteration all through, and I only wish that the limitations of the press in the matter of capped and dotted types, combined with an occasional carelessness, did not stand in the way of a rigidly correct and a consistent scheme of Romanisation all through.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT for the year 1941, Mysore, 1942, pages 285, with 26 plates.

The report is divided into six parts dealing respectively with administration, conservation of ancient monuments, study of ancient monuments and sites, coins, manuscripts and inscriptions examined in 1941.

The section on epigraphy forms the most useful part of the report under review. Of the more important records, mention may be made of those of Gaṅga Śrīpuruṣa (year 39), of Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI (Cālukya-Vikrama 27, the date falling on February 8, 1103 A.D.), of Coḷa Rājendra I (year 19 and Śaka 953 the date falling on April 2, 1030 A.D.) and Vīrarājendra (Śaka 992= 1070 A.D.), of Hoysala Narasiṃha I and II and Ballāḷa II and III, and of the Vijayanagara emperors Harihara II, Devarāya II, Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Sadāśiva. The text of the documents is usually transcribed in Kannaḍa, Devanāgarī and Roman scripts, although this system has not been followed in all cases (cf. inscription No. 41 at pp. 215-17). Unfortunately the transcripts do not always appear to be quite reliable. No emendations have been suggested even for extremely defective passages (cf. the verse *gata-līlaṃ.....v ra-ballāḷadevaṃ* at p. 216, the note "Kannaḍa language and characters" being inaccurate in this case). An interesting inscription (p. 153) from the

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Kollar District records the grant of the wellknown *nettaru-kodage*, i.e. grant of land for shedding blood, comparable with the *mṛtyuka-vṛtti* of the Garra grants of Candella Trailokyavarman (*El.*, XVI, pp. 272ff.). Several of the epigraphs refer to the Kālāmukha priests entitled *Kriyāśaktyācārya*.

The plates accompanying the report are nicely executed. The *āliṅganamūrti* of Umā-Maheśvara from Belgāmi reproduced in plate I is a very beautiful piece of sculpture. Another interesting piece from the same place is the so-called *Śūlabrahma*, believed to represent the self-sacrifice of a person and reproduced in plate XIII, fig. 1.

D. S.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Archiv Orientalni, vol, XVI, nos. 1-2 (December, 1947)

O. Fris.—*Notes on Hāla's Sattasai.* Some strophes from the anthologistic *Sattasai* of Hāla have been discussed to show that Weber, following the erroneous interpretations of the commentators of old, had misunderstood them.

—o—*Two Words from Amaruśataka.* The words discussed here are *ānatimant* and *varkarakarkara.*

Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society, No 2 (October, 1947).

A. Avasthi.—*Sati—Was it a Vedic Rite?* The Ṛgvedic and Atharvavedic passages interpreted by some as sanctioning the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her dead husband really do not contain such sanctions. 'The verses simply describe the rites a widow had to perform after the death of her husband.' The custom of the self-immolation of widows was not prevalent in the Vedic age.

V. W. Karambelkar.—*Atharvan Witchcraft.* The efforts to influence the course of events by means of spells and rituals without any favour of the divine powers is magic. The essential subject-matter of the *Atharvaveda* is magic blended here and there with religious practices. The present paper deals with the offensive magic or witchcraft as referred to in the *Atharvaveda.*

K. S. Lal.—*The Spirit of the Muslim Government in India.* The article adduces concrete evidence to show that the Muslim rulers of India were not so generous and so tolerant towards the non-Muslims as some scholars seek to prove.

Bhāratīya Vidyā, vol. VIII, nos 8, 9 & 10 (August-October. 1947)

D. R. Mankad.—*Candragupta Maurya and the Greek Evidence.* Accounts of several Greek writers as given by MacCrindle mention the names Xandrames and Sandrocottus. Some scholars take both the names to have a reference to the same person viz. Candragupta Maurya, while others think that Xandrames refers

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to the Nanda king and Sandrocottus to Candragupta Maurya. The paper points out serious difficulties that stand in the way of all these identifications. It is not possible to find any reference in these Greek accounts to the Nandas and Mauryas without distortions of those very accounts as also of the Indian traditions.

V. B. ATHAVALE.—*Solution of the Dvārakā Controversy.* There are two places in Kathiawad associated with the name of Kṛṣṇa's new capital Dvārakā. One is near Port Okha and has become a place of pilgrimage, and the other is near Kodinar on the sea coast known by the name Mul-dwaraka. Gomanta and Raivataka mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* along with the fortress of Dvārakā are identified in this paper with the Girnar mountain and the Gir hills respectively. Hence the writer of the paper concludes that Mul-dwaraka was the place where the fortress was first built. Gradually Kṛṣṇa extended his control northwards, where modern Dwaraka near port Okha is situated.

A. S. GOPANI.—*Some of the Missing Links in the History of Astrology.* This instalment of the article deals with the works of Āryabhaṭa II, Balabhadra, Bhaṭṭotpala and Caturveda Pṛthūdakasvāmin.

H. C. BHAYANI.—*Svayambhū and Hemacandra.* A comparison of Hemacandra's *Chando'nuśāsana* and Svayambhū's *Svayambhūcchandas* proves that the former is indebted to the latter.

D. S. TRIVEDA.—*The Date of Lord Buddha, 1793 B.C.* According to the suggested interpretations of the Purāṇic and Buddhist traditions, Chinese accounts, Kalhaṇa's statement and the evidence of Maṇimekhalai, the Nirvāṇa of Buddha took place in the year 1793 B.C.

P. K. GODE.—*A Rare Manuscript of the Vedabhāṣyasāra of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.* The fragment of the Ṛgvedic commentary published here is 'preponderantly grammatical' and is based on the *Vedabhāṣya* of Mādhavācārya.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol XII, pt. 1

T. BURROW.—*Dravidian Studies VI: The Loss of Initial c/s in South Dravidian.*

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JOHN BROUGH:—*Līlātilaka: A Sanskrit Tract on Malayalam Grammar and Poetics.* The *Līlātilaka* assigned to the 14th century A.C., professes to have dealt with 'the style of literature known as *maṇipravāḷa*,' a mixture of vernacular and Sanskrit.

Journal of Śrī Venkateśvara Oriental Institute, vol. VIII, part 2
(July-December, 1947)

K. C. VARADACHARI.—*A Note on Use of the Terms Adhidaivatam and Adhyātmam in the Kenopaniṣad.* According to this Note, the ascent of man towards Godhead is described by the term *adhyātma*; and *adhidaivata* refers to the 'Divine Grace-action' for an individual.

P. L. NARASIMHASWAMI.—*Laghuśabdārthasarvasva.* The *Laghuśabdārthasarvasva* is a Sanskrit Encyclopædia (still in manuscript) by a scholar (of the 19th century) named Paravastu Venkata Rangacaryālu Ayyavaralugaru of Vizagapatam. The nature and scope of the work have been described in the Note.

K. C. VARADACHARI.—*Yoga Psychology in the Minor Upaniṣads. Aṅgas* (accessories) of Yoga, viz., *Yama*, *Niyama*, *Āsana*, etc. form the subject-matter of the article.

T. VENKATACHARYA.—अन्वर्थाः पाणिनीयसंज्ञाः (Significant Technical Terms in Pāṇini). Pāṇinian terms like *svara*, *vyañjana*, *hrasva*, *dīrgha*—thirty-six in number have been explained to show that they directly convey their appropriate meanings.

T. VIRARAGHAVACHARI.—वैशेषिकरसायनसहित वैशेषिकदर्शनम् . A new commentary called *Vaiśeṣikarasāyana* has been added to the Sūtras of Kaṇāda. This instalment contains the 1st *Adhyāya* of the work.

K. SATHAKOPACHARI.—अलंकारस्फुरणम् . The manuscript described here in Sanskrit is a rhetorical treatise by Nṛsiṃhanārāyaṇakavi written on the line of the well-known *Kuvalayānanda.*

—o— *Rare Manuscripts found in the Library of the Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara Oriental Institute.* Manuscripts numbering 177 have been named.

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A Few Opinions

Prof. M. Winternitz.—It is full of highly interesting and important matter, and keeps up a high standard of scholarship..... It promises to become a great help to all students of Indian History.

Prof. H. Jacobi.—I have perused your quarterly with great interest..... I may have occasion to contribute to it now and then.

Prof. J. Jolly of Germany—I entertain a very high opinion of the Quarterly.

Dr. E. J. Thomas.—The Indian Historical Quarterly has always attracted me as being one of the most interesting Oriental Journals and I realise how much this depends on wise editorship. I think you are doing a great work in helping and stimulating oriental scholarship in India.

Prof. Sylvain Levi.—Congratulate you on the truly 'national' work you are doing for Mother India. Your Quarterly is the best evidence of the wonderful progress accomplished by Indian scholars in these last years, a progress that I followed with a sincere joy.

Dr. Otto Strauss.—I am very well pleased with your Journal and I hope it will be as interesting and successful as the bygone years.

Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri, Hony. Member. Royal Asiatic Society: The Quarterly is becoming more and more useful, more and more learned. You deserve the thanks of the Indian public by focussing so many eminent writers in your Quarterly..... I am reading all Oriental Journals, and about India yours is the most informing.